

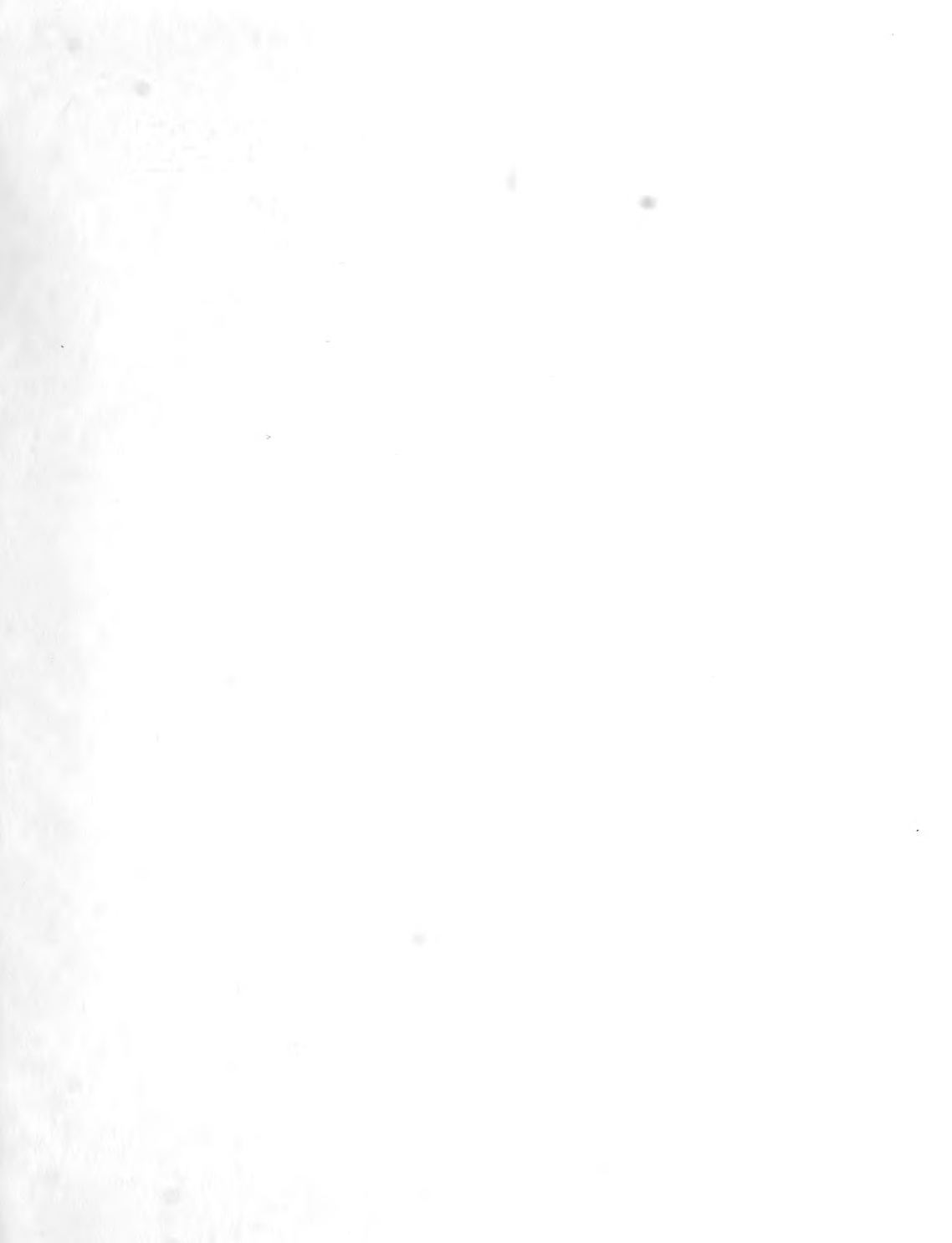
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Reforming the American Welfare System

The Problem of Rural Poverty

by Katherine J. Maxwell

**Senior Honors Thesis
Sweet Briar College
Department of Government
May 2, 1995**

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Reforming the American Welfare System: The Problem of Rural Poverty

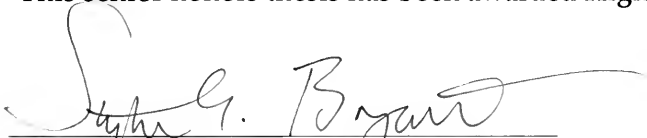
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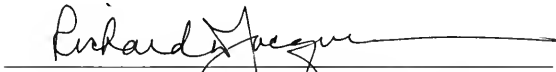
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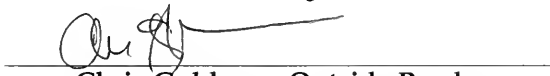
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Preface

Welfare reform, in relation to rural poverty, interested me primarily because of my personal experiences growing up in the state of West Virginia. Although not personally affected, I have always been surrounded by poverty. I attended school with children on welfare, and passed their homes just about every day.

In high school, I was involved in a service club that adopted a needy family with seven children. Our goal was to give them an opportunity to move off welfare and become independent. In one year, through the support of the community, we installed a new phone, provided coal to heat the home in the winter, transported the children to youth activities, gave incentives for school attendance, donated food, clothing, and books, and assisted the parents in a job search. However, our efforts were unsuccessful. In fact, the children ran a \$200 dollar phone bill, the parents never went to work, and school absences were a regularity. We began receiving phonecalls from the family asking such questions as, "When will you bring us a new dishwasher?" Our hardworking group, finally discouraged, began losing interest.

For me, this was an eye-opening experience. I soon realized the problems of the needy run much deeper than just material need. Having been taught to always give to the poor, I felt that our hard-working group had been betrayed, and I became cynical and distrustful towards the welfare system and the needy.

In college, I studied the welfare system in various courses and internships. I visited subsidized housing, and in particular, I worked for the Public Defender Service of Washington, DC. Assisting poverty-stricken citizens accused of crime, my internship gave me valuable insight into the problems of the inner city. While the Public Defender Service dealt with poverty of large cities, my experiences living in West Virginia have taught me that the culture and customs of the two regions differ greatly. To take a program created for the inner city and implement it in a rural county in West Virginia would be require different policies.

I first collected data for my research during my summer internship in the office of Vice President Albert C. Gore. My supervisor, Dr. Elaine Kamarck, was a member of the President's welfare task force. Her office personnel were very helpful in my efforts to collect information. In January, I spent the month in Calhoun County, West Virginia. My family roots tie me to this location, but its beauty is just as magnetic. My month living outside Grantsville and interviewing residents was an memorable and invaluable experience.

Finally, my final semester at Sweet Briar College, although busy, was rewarding. I greatly appreciated and valued working with my advisor Dr. Stephen Bragaw, Department of Government. His expertise and knowledge greatly assisted me in my efforts and provided me with a wealth of information to forever assist me in my future endeavors.

I give my deepest appreciation and gratitude to the following people: my advisor Dr. Stephen Bragaw for his patience, understanding, and assistance; to my grandparents Donald and June Morris for their love and support; to Richard Morris for his office space and stimulating welfare debates; to Jane Carpenter for her assistance in linking me with my interviewees; to the office of the Department of Health and Human Services of Calhoun County; Mr. Tom Gainer; Mr. Rich Schlameuss; Ms. Wendy New, Office of the Vice President; Dr. Richard Jacques, Sweet Briar College; and to those members of the Sweet Briar College community who gave me the opportunity to pursue such a study and provided me with encouragement during the difficult moments. Most of all, I thank my parents Stephen and Donna Maxwell for their constant guidance, love, and support. I could never have made it this far without them.

For my family

Reforming the American Welfare System.
The Problem of Rural Poverty

Table of Contents

1.	Introduction	1
2.	The Evolution of Government Responses to Welfare and Poverty in Society	4
A.	Introduction	4
B.	Rural poverty in Europe with emphasis on Anglo-American Society	4
C.	The Evolution of the Definition of Poverty	6
D.	Social Problems Related to Poverty	8
	Colonial Life and Poverty in America	9
E.	Nineteenth Century	10
F.	Advancing into the 20th Century	11
G.	The Progressive Era	12
H.	The Formation of the Welfare State	13
I.	The Expansion of the Welfare State	16
J.	The Evolution the Profession of Social Service	17
K.	Conclusion	20
3.	Where America is today? The problems of social welfare and society.	
A.	Introduction	22
B.	The Existing System	22
	1. Social Security	
	2. Aid to Families with Dependent Children	
	3. Food Stamps	
	4. Medicaid	
	5. Head Start	
C.	The Present State of Society and Culture	27
	1. Child Welfare	
	2. The "Big Pressure" of Welfare: Teenage Pregnancy	
	3. Depression, Drugs, Alcohol, and Domestic Abuse	
D.	What's Wrong With the Current System	34
E.	Conclusion	36

4.	A Focus on the Pending Problems of Rural Poverty	40
	A. Introduction	40
	B. Culture and Economy in Rural Communities	40
	C. West Virginia in Perspective	45
	D. Conclusion	48
5.	Proposals for Welfare Reform	50
	A. Introduction	50
	B. The Presidential Proposal and Evaluation for Welfare Reform	50
	B. Contract with America, the Republican Proposal for Reform	54
	C. Other Reform Ideas	56
	1. Workfare	
	2. Privatization	
	3. Provide Incentives	
	4. College Counseling	
	5. Peer Counseling	
	6. School Apprentice Programs	
	D. Strengthening the System	69
	1. Model Programs	
	2. Programs That Were Unsuccessful	
	E. What the System Should Do	74
	F. Conclusion	76
6.	Conclusion	79
7.	Supporting Data	
	A. Original Research: Interviews and Discoveries	
	B. Statistical Evidence	
8.	Works Cited	

Chapter 1: Introduction

Welfare is a topic continuously in the news today. Lawmakers want a government that operates inexpensively. Social workers want a system that works. Citizens want both. The welfare debate essentially has two perspectives. The first is the question of administration. This addresses concerns over about who administers, how the government administers the program, the cost, and its success. The second perspective is much more controversial. It addresses merit and touches the question of who actually deserves to receive benefits. Although this paper discusses the idea of merit, the main focus is upon administration. Merit is a matter of personal opinion with little opportunity to support with concrete, dependable facts. The question of administration is more approachable.

Currently, the administration of the welfare system deals with two different types of poverty: rural and urban. Urban, inner-city poverty is highly publicized resulting in problems of crime, drugs, and racial tension. Rural poverty is for the most part mainly hidden and often forgotten by policymakers.

This paper focuses on the problems of administering welfare reform. Interviews with social service workers of the federal Department of Health and Human Services, residents of rural communities in West Virginia, the staff of Congressman Alan B. Mollohan's office (Democrat, WV), and private sector social workers in West Virginia have helped define the differences between the rural and urban poor and the problems of poverty and welfare in rural regions. Such

differences exist in transportation, violence, health and public services, economy, education, housing, and population.

In the inner city, residents cope with violent crime, street gangs, guns, and drugs. In the rural communities, residents do not so much cope with street violence, but instead domestic violence that often remains “hidden.” West Virginia has a high rate of child abuse. The crime rate in West Virginia is the lowest in the country, but half of all family abuse cases remain unreported.

The urban poor have better access to hospital care and public services. In rural communities, the small populations provide little incentive to encourage good doctors to work there. As a result, health care, emergency services, education, and employment all suffer from isolation and lack of economy.

Transportation in rural counties is a critical point in the life of these families. The rural poor have little access to public transportation. Many cannot afford a reliable car, and bus services for the few is too costly for the local government. A typical drive to the nearest grocery store can be thirty minutes, and in cases of bad weather, these rural roads are often the last to be cleared. As a result, many inhabitants can isolate themselves from the outside community for weeks at a time.

Education often lacks the programs of larger cities. The schools have fewer teachers and little variety in courses. Many schools are supported on property taxes paid by a small group of farmers with larger portions of land, and because there is little money to provide to schools, it is difficult to find good teachers who want to teach.

Finally, the economy of the rural communities is more depressed than the inner cities. Rural communities have fewer businesses and industries and have difficulty attracting them. The community needs adequate roads, cultural life, good education, and expansive health services. Rural communities cannot compete with these large city advantages.

This project examines the American welfare system from different angles. The history gives a background of rural poverty, and because America's largest influence came from Great Britain, this project concentrates on the Anglo-American development of policy from tribes and monasteries to the New Deal, President Johnson's War on Poverty, and President Clinton's Proposal. This project describes existing welfare programs and their problems, addressing the question of what is needed for reform- with a major focus on the rural poor. The paper introduces the proposals for reform by President Clinton and by Republican Party's Contract with America in an attempt to determine the future success of these ideas. Finally, the paper discusses examples of successful and unsuccessful reforms.

Chapter 2: The Evolution of Government Responses to Welfare and Poverty in Society

Introduction

To study history is to study the basis for all welfare policies. By studying the past, one can understand the present and possibly the future. In the case of the welfare system, by understanding the history of poverty and the responses to it, one could conclude how government responses have developed over time. This brief historical introduction attempts to explain the evolution of the government responses to welfare and poverty through a series of shifts: the public perception of the root problems of poverty, the development of the classification of poverty, the definition of poverty (who needs?), and the change in government responses to poverty programs from church support to government support.

Rural Poverty in Early Europe with Emphasis on Anglo-American Society

Poverty has always existed, but governments and citizens handled it differently. Since early man, if one was in need, family and friends would come to aid (Trattner 1-4). Chiefs of tribes or priests of the church supported the widows, orphans, and sick (Friedlander 9), and religion- especially Christianity- emphasized the giving of charity to gain eternal life through God. Christians taught themselves to be giving, caring, caring, and forgiving (Trattner 1-4).

The Fourth Century brought an increase in wealth and a need for organized

charities (Trattner 4). Monasteries, the main source of aid, gave assistance to the sick, elderly, handicap, and homeless (Friedlander 10) by providing food raised from their land and crops and opening hospitals for the travel weary, pregnant, sick, orphaned, abandoned, and destitute (Trattner 4, 5). The aristocracy donated money to attempt to keep vagabonds off the streets, but generally without success (Friedlander 11). By the 11th century, the system of feudalism developed in which the poor lived on land under the guidance of their Lord, and because the Lords cared for the needs of their serfs, poverty was not a major issue. In certain cases, the church provided additional alms (Trattner 5).

The Reformation in the 16th century dramatically changed English society, marking a shift in the governments role in the problems of poverty. When conflict arose over the misuse and mismanagement of church funds, King Henry VIII took land away from the church and redistributed it to personal friends, leaving the ecclesiastics unemployed. Feudalism began to dissolve, leaving farmers and other landworkers without work and without a sense of security (Friedlander 11, 14). The Kings began facing problems of maintaining order. Commerce and trade increased improving the economy and employing those with special skills, and natural disasters such as crop failures, famines, and the bubonic plague (Black Death) treacherized England leaving it in turmoil (Trattner 6, 7). The Black Death plague, brought to England by ships carrying infected rats in 1348-49, killed nearly two-thirds of the English population within two years (Friedlander 14).

The Reformation altered the government's role in the problems of poverty. By removing land, funds, and power from the clergy, the government actually decreased the ability of the church to support the poor in turn creating an unintentional byproduct of the Reformation. It forced itself to become involved in the problems of poverty.

To alleviate problems, Martin Luther encouraged all parishes to donate food, clothes, and money to him, so he could distribute them to the poor. He felt this would make the system more efficient and effective. Although his efforts did little to decrease poverty, it did help to encourage more community assistance and responsibility (Friedlander 11).

The Evolution of the Definition of Poverty

When government and its citizens began classifying the poor to determine who should receive support, there became two types of poor: the able-bodied and the unable. The able-bodied were healthy and physically fit enough to work for their share, but were only lazy and unwilling to work. The unable were the blind, lame, aged, sick, pregnant, and young, who were not physically capable of self-support. There was greater sympathy for the latter poor, but little for the able-bodied. In 1349, King Edward III issued the Statute of Laborers, possibly the origin of the "workfare program." This statute forced all able-bodied laborers to work and prohibited begging. Its purpose was to keep rural workers on their land and off the streets. It severely punished all violators by either whipping, branding, cutting off an ear or

nose, or hanging (Friedlander 3, 15). In 1531, to determine who was able-bodied, Henry VIII declared that all paupers register with the government to beg. Like King Edward III, he too provided harsh punishment for unregistered beggars who violated the law (Friedlander 15).

The next stage of government assistance was “workfare.” By 1790, the role of the government shifted from giving alms (small donations) to the poor to providing full-time support. The government introduced workhouses in which inhabitants worked for shelter. First founded in Munich, these houses worked adults and children with spinning, weaving, knitting, linen weaving, lace work, and net and sail making. The labor was hard, and the conditions were often terrible. Because the workhouse was a business, and its goal was to make a profit, it spent little money on equipment, repair, food, and clothing. Inhabitants were continuously tired and hungry, and accidents and diseases occurred regularly due to the unsafe environment, lack of fresh air, and improper sanitation. In addition, because some privately-owned workhouses forced families to separate from spouses and children, many paupers preferred to be poor rather than face the hardships of the workhouses. In the end, workers were tired, hungry, and unskilled, and workhouses actually lost money instead of making profit. Charles Dickens portrayed the life of such a life in his infamous 1837 novel Oliver Twist (Friedlander 12-25).

In the years following the introduction of the workhouses, additional government policies developed. The government’s role in the poverty shifted from

providing small alms, to employing the poor in workhouses, and finally to direct payments. Because the twenty-two years of war with Napoleon and France and the rise of industrialism increased the cost of living in England, the government introduced the “Speenhamland Act” in 1795. This act, supported by taxes, gave relief allowance according to the size of the family. However, the heavy taxes actually forced employers to reduce work wages meanwhile draining money from the financially secure. In the end, the standard of living dropped, more citizens qualified for support, and the government increased taxes furthermore. This practice of poor relief only helped in creating “permanent paupers.” Once receiving benefits, paupers saw little incentive to move off (Friedlander 20, 24).

In 1834 the government tried what was called The New Poor Law, giving relief money of only lower value than the wage of the lowest paid worker. The idea was to give paupers an incentive to work (Friedlander 24). This law was financially successful, and the cost of charity reduced more than one-third while institutions improved. However, during this same period, two hundred more workhouses opened, separating families by ages, sex, and health, and forcing them to perform hard labor (Friedlander 25).

Social Problems Related to Poverty

Public health among the poor was terrible. Overcrowded, urban slums housed approximately seven to ten people together in one dark, damp, and stuffy room. With no water supply, drainage, and sewage, diseases spread rapidly. Refuse

was thrown in the public gutter polluting the water, and because there existed no system of burial, the government had to assume the cost of funerals (Friedlander 26).

Child labor was also a serious problem. Workhouses began working children at the age of six to seven years, forcing them to stand for long hours. Children could not leave the workplace, go to the toilet, drink water, or step outside for fresh air, and had only one hour breaks for meals. For the violators, punishment was severe. Extremely undernourished, children many children died by their teenage years (Friedlander 27, 28).

Colonial Life and Poverty in America

Englishmen moved to the American colonies in search of a better life, but in Colonial America, life was just as difficult- but for different reasons. Because the land was rich in natural resources, urban poverty was not a large problem, but colonists had few belongings. Colonists scattered themselves great distances apart and worked on their farms isolated from others. Most were too busy to think of other families outside their home. Church institutions were too weak to support widows, children, and sick, so communities sent the dependent back to England. Many colonists considered able-bodied paupers lazy and regarded them as criminals (Friedlander 64).

The colonial towns began to adopt the same Elizabethan Poor Law as that of

England. Towns supported the poor, providing food, clothing, firewood, and household essentials, but did so by either donating materials to the pauper or selling him to the lowest bidder for work. The paupers, treated as morally deficient, entered their names on the poor roll in the city hall, so if others caught him begging, they could seriously punish him- usually by whipping (Friedlander 65, 66).

In 1657, the first almshouse opened in Renselaerswyck, New York. In 1658, a workhouse opened in the Plymouth colonies, and in 1660, another almshouse opened in Boston. These institutions housed orphans, abandoned, and illegitimate children. As the century continued, more almshouses opened in large cities, but the small towns continued the practice of selling paupers to the lowest bidders as an indentured workforce (Friedlander 66, 67).

The Nineteenth Century

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, poor houses in large cities began supporting beggars, vagabonds, the blind, the deaf-mute, cripples, idiots, epileptics, and the insane by grouping them together with children and unmarried mothers. Because these houses were the cheapest on the market, the homes were often in terrible condition. They lacked proper sanitation and provided only old straw cots as beds, and many of the managers were untrained and unqualified with no education and money. Of all the inhabitants in these homes, almost 20-25 percent of the insane lived together with the mentally healthy (Friedlander 68, 72).

Fortunately, the deplorable conditions began attracting the attention of

private charities. They disagreed with housing children together with the insane, and in turn, they opened and operated orphanages and asylums through churches and fraternal organizations. As a result, the states began taking responsibility for the insane and convicts (Friedlander 72).

Massachusetts became the first state to create a central agency for charity and welfare. By inspecting institutions and closing many, this agency strived to keep families out of workhouses and asylums. Fortunately, many states followed its lead, and as a result, the state removed children from poorhouses and placed them in better care facilities. Relief distribution became more efficient, poverty decreased, and the care of the mentally disabled improved (Friedlander 86, 87).

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the private sector began introducing youth services to help disadvantaged children. Such organizations were the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Boy's Club, Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Boy Scouts, American Junior Red Cross, and 4-H clubs. These programs provided low-cost alternatives to keep children out of trouble and assist in their education (Friedlander 109).

Advancing into the Twentieth Century

In 1909, the federal government began to acknowledge poverty as a vital problem. Believing children should not be removed from parents for reasons of poverty, President Theodore Roosevelt recognized the need for a national agency. Established in 1920, the Child Welfare League of American was a nationwide,

voluntary organization for the care of children. It was the first federal poverty agency (Friedlander 109, 110).

The Progressive Era

The late 19th century and early 20th century marks the transition from a once rural economy to a highly industrialized urban society, and the shift from a “laissez-faire government” to a more “aware” government. Industrialization stimulated energy production, increasing factory jobs and encouraging many rural citizens to emigrate to the large cities in search of work. The federal government opened its doors to the many immigrants in search of a better life, and the once small-town, rural America became increasingly urban (Ehrenreich 20).

For the working class, this was a period of unrest. As the number of millionaires increased, there began a rise of a new middle class comprised of independent farmers, small-businessmen, self-employed professionals. Business monopolies affected farm production by controlling the prices of seed, fertilizer, and agricultural supplies, shipping costs, and interest rates, while government regulated industries. To gain control from the government and monopolies, unions began expanding and striking for equality, fair wages, control, and safety. The Women’s Movement fought for voting rights, and eventually became one of the factors that changed the traditional structure of the family (Ehrenreich 26, 28, 42-45).

America’s involvement of World War I temporarily alleviated this tension. The War increased farm productivity to provide supplies and food for the soldiers

and families, but immediately following, farm productivity dropped due to world-wide production. Without work, farmers continued to migrate to the cities. Meanwhile, in the cities, soldiers returned from the War, and more immigrants arrived from overseas in search of "The American Dream." Competition for jobs was fierce. Ethnic riots broke out, and poverty increased. In response, the government began to move away from its system of "laissez-faire" and move toward a stronger role in the problems of poverty (Ehrenreich 43-48).

In the 1920s ethnic and racial conflicts still continued. Union strikes greatly affected business production, and what was to become the "Great Depression" was already hurting the rural farmers. Farm production continued to decrease, occupations paid low wages, and housing construction became stagnant (Ehrenreich 85).

The Formation of the Welfare State

(The Great Depression and the New Deal)

On Black Tuesday of October 26, 1929, the Stock Market collapsed. By 1933, manufacturing dropped forty percent, the estimated Gross National Product decreased almost 25 percent, weekly wages dropped 35 percent, and the unemployment rate rose as high, by some extent, as 25 percent. Banks collapsed, corporation profits dropped, and employee wages decreased to extremely low levels. To make the situation worse, there was no system of unemployment compensation,

no social security, food stamps, or medicaid. Poverty forced many to live in shantytowns made of cardboards and tin sheeting called “Hoovervilles” (derogatorily named after the President), and private charities fought to help them until their resources were exhausted. By the end of 1933, the America was at one of its lowest levels in history (Ehrenreich 86).

The 1932 presidential elections replaced Herbert Hoover with Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt, who promised changes and a better future, incorporated the New Deal which provided poor relief, social security, workmen’s compensation, unemployment compensation, wage/hour legislation, housing legislation, and vocational training programs (Health care was not to come until the 1960s during the Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson). Although much power was still in the hands of the state and local governments, Roosevelt strengthened the executive branch of the federal government. For the first time, the executive branch took an active role in proposing legislation, and Roosevelt and his New Deal moved the government towards a “welfare state” that made housing, health, elderly security, education, and work conditions its responsibility (Ehrenreich 97, 98).

Because many who were once financially secure became poverty-stricken during the Great Depression, attitudes toward poverty changed. Many began to see poverty as a result of unemployment, disease, bad housing, and accidents, and they began to understand that poverty can be uncontrollable (Ehrenreich 42).

The New Deal radically changed the social service system from that of a privately funded and supported, to a publicly funded and supported system. In 1929,

25 percent of funds were private but by 1939, less than one percent were private. Private charities did not have enough resources to support the needy, and the citizens were looking to the government for help. In response, the government introduced Aid to Families with Dependant Children (AFDC) in 1935- a form of financial aid for widows and orphans without the support of men. Originally intended as a temporary program, AFDC soon became a permanent part of government (Ehrenreich 101, 106, 107, 122).

By 1941, the United States had entered World War II. War production stimulated the economy and ironically lifted America out of the Great Depression. World War II had enormous economic and social affects on the United States. Following World War II, citizens continued to migrate from farms to cities, the middle class moved from the inner cities to suburbs, and more women entered the work force (Ehrenreich 99, 142).

In the 1950s the government began a massive campaign to fund highways and encourage the production and usage of automobiles. Fuel was inexpensive and cars became more affordable for the average family. Furthermore, use of the railroad declined, and the trolley car, as form as intra-urban transportation, nearly disappeared. The typical family structure changed too. Families no longer lived near parents or grandparents, and the extended family support diminished (Ehrenreich 145-150).

The Expansion of the Welfare State

In the 1960s, policymakers finally began to acknowledge the stagnant economy of Appalachia, including West Virginia. During his shortened term, President John F. Kennedy drafted new economic and welfare programs. The Kennedy administration expanded the system by including unemployment insurance extensions, increasing the minimum wage, increasing social security benefits, providing welfare to families with an unemployed parent, and implementing a housing act to create a half million jobs. In addition, the administration drafted the Manpower Development and Training Act to train unemployed citizens new skills (Ehrenreich 157, 161). Because Appalachia had such an unusually high unemployment rate, the administration introduced \$1.1 billion dollar Appalachian Redevelopment Act in March 1965 to funnel financial and technical aid into this area. The attempt was to stimulate commerce, industry, health, tourism, and training ("Appalachian Mountains, Brittanica). Finally, during this term, there was a decrease in income taxes to stimulate spending and investment (Ehrenreich 157, 161).

Unfortunately, despite these efforts, poverty and its corresponding social problems persisted. In this period of social unrest and a fight for civil rights, many argued that the government programs did not meet the "culture of poverty." They said the goal of government should be to hit the root of poverty and fight poverty itself instead of its symptoms (Ehrenreich 166).

Community activists encouraged a new idea called "maximum feasible

participation” which entailed empowering the poor. Many believe that by giving welfare recipients more responsibility over their own lives, welfare would work more beneficially. An example of maximum feasible participation was the National Welfare League, an organization in which welfare recipients created to make changes in the welfare policies and social service agencies (Ehrenreich 170, 172).

President Lyndon B. Johnson, following Kennedy, created an antipoverty program in which he attempted to stimulate the economy and create jobs through training programs, equal opportunity laws, and health services. He tried to deliver these services and solve the problems in new ways. He encouraged community participation and new relationships between state and federal governments. In his system, federal money bypassed state and local governments and went directly to service programs. Finally, he introduced other new programs such as job corps, Head Start, Upward Bound, family planning, and addiction services (Ehrenreich 167, 169). Although many argue that that the Kennedy/ Johnson “War against Poverty” did not work, studies have proven a decrease in poverty during this decade (Ehrenreich 180, 213).

The 1960s and 1970s saw great changes in the social and family life of an average American. The divorce rate increased significantly, as result of the “no fault” divorces, consequently increasing the number of female-headed households. Today approximately 85 percent of all women can expect to support themselves at some time due to separation, divorce, or death (Ehrenreich 222, 223).

The United States began de-industrializing and decreasing the number of manufacturing jobs while business went overseas for cheap labor or computers to replace workers. To make the system more flexible, efficient, and effective, the government began privatizing hospitals once financed by the government. Opinions about this period are mixed. Some argue the government systems are no cheaper or better than the old. Others claim there is less citizen participation and involvement (Ehrenreich 213-221). By the 1980s, the average welfare payment was \$2000 a year. 85 percent of food stamp recipients, 61 percent Medicaid recipients, and 93 percent AFDC recipients were women (Ehrenreich 214).

The Evolution of the Profession of Social Service

In addition to policy developments, "social service" in the form of "social welfare" emerged as a profession. "Social welfare" is defined by the United Nations as "an organized activity that aims at helping towards a mutual adjustment of individuals and their social environment. This objective is achieved through the use of techniques and methods designed to enable individuals, groups and communities meet their needs and solve their problems of adjustment to a changing pattern of society, and through cooperative action to improve economic and social conditions" (Friedlander 4).

Social work is "a professional service, based upon scientific knowledge and skill in human relations, which assists individuals, alone or in groups, to obtain social and personal satisfaction and independence. It is usually performed by

a social agency or a related organization” and includes child welfare, corrections, mental hygiene, public health, education, recreation, labor protection, and housing, and its objective is to provide individuals with basic life necessities such as food, clothing, health, adequate housing, equal opportunities, self respect, and freedom without disturbing the rights of others (Friedlander 4, 5). Originally, social work was “women’s work” and of low status because it was not “business.” It did not demand intellect or knowledge, and only required “feminine instinct” which came naturally to women. Women dominated the field and received low wages (Ehrenreich 56, 57).

There are six forms of social work. The first is casework with individual clients in an effort to create better relations and improve the client’s situation. The second form is group work in which the service attempts to motivate individuals to achieve their goals by working in groups. The third form is community organizations in which services are planned to not only meet the needs of individuals but to meet the needs of the community as well. The fourth form is administration. This operates the agency to keep it running smoothly and effectively. The fifth is research to study new ideas and determine strengths and weaknesses with the programs. The final form of social work is action. This is the actual working to solve problems (Friedlander 6).

Conclusion

Poverty and welfare moved through a series of shifts: the shift in the perception of the root causes of poverty, the shift in the causes of poverty, and the shift in the classes of poverty. Originally, there were two classes of poor: the “able” and the “unable.” The “disabled,” due to blindness, lameness, age, illness, and pregnancy, were treated with sympathy. It was understood they were incapable of supporting themselves while the able-bodied were accused of laziness and unwillingness to work. By the twentieth century, the differences between the two lessened, and the government became more open to addressing the causes of poverty. Today, although the “able-bodied/ unable theory” still exists, more citizens can qualify for aid.

Perhaps the largest shift was the government’s role in poverty. Originally government held no responsibility for welfare support until the Reformation in the 16th century, when the government began acquiring roles in providing for the unfortunate. First, merely a small alms, the government aid gradually increased from small donations to full-time support program, and full-time support evolved from workhouses to eventually a form of relief money.

The policies of early colonial America were similar to that of England. The private sector held the highest responsibility for care of the poverty until it exhausted its aid. The 1930s was the true beginning of the U.S. transition to a welfare state, where the government assumed a strong role in aid to the disadvantaged. Since this period, aid has only increased to its present status.

The study of history is applicable to the study of the current system of welfare. Ironically, many of the controversies of early England and America still exist. The welfare debate is still concerned about the question of who deserves, and politics still discusses the role of government in care of the poor. Interestingly, many of today's suggested reform programs could be compared to those existing centuries ago. The workhouses is comparable to workfare, and the "The Speenhamland Act" of early England is comparable to the AFDC program.

The additional chapters will discuss the current system, problems with the current system, and ideas for reform. When reading the following chapters, it is important to keep in mind the basic questions about administration and merit, the role of the government in welfare, and the differences between rural and urban poverty.

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Chapter 3: Where is America Today?

The Problems of Social Welfare and Society

Introduction

This chapter briefly describes the present system in an attempt to emphasize the massive size of the programs and the system's basic structure. The study of the existing policies assists in accurately portraying the difficulties of welfare reform. In addition, the chapter discusses sociological problems, such as teenage pregnancy, crime, and substance abuse, that correspond with the system making the goals of the policies even more difficult to achieve. This chapter considers the effectiveness of the administration in its implementation of policies and poses the question of whether government policies succeed in helping to treat or in actually attributing to the social problems of the nation today.

The Existing Welfare System

The federal welfare system consists of several programs enacted by the Social Security Act of 1935. Social Security and Supplemental Security Income are universal programs in which everyone is entitled to aid regardless of income. Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Food Stamps, Medicaid, Supplemental Security Income, and Head Start are examples of poverty programs. To qualify to receive aid, the recipient must have an income below the poverty level- which was approximately \$11, 186 in 1994 (Children's Defense Fund).

To determine the current poverty level, the Bureau of Census conducts a household study every March. It combines all forms of family income such as earnings, social security, pension, public assistance, interest, dividends, alimony, and child support, but excludes health care, public housing, and food stamps (Gabe 9-9-92). In 1991, the poverty rate was 14.2 percent (Gabe 9-9-92), but by 1992, the poverty rate had increased- due to the 1991 recession (Gabe 11-17-92). In 1992, the funding for welfare totaled \$22 billion, which is approximately one percent of the federal budget and two percent of state budgets (Children's Defense Fund).

Social Security: Background

The first and largest welfare program is Social Security. Distributing money for living costs and medical care, this program provides aid for citizens over age 65 and unemployment compensation for those suddenly and involuntarily without jobs. The intent is to provide temporary aid until the recipient is once again capable of self-support. Currently approximately 34 million citizens receive funds.

Included in Social Security is Supplemental Security Income (SSI). This program provides benefits to the blind, disabled, aged (not covered by social security), and all others physically or mentally incapable of raising money (Peterson 6). In the previous decade, benefits have even expanded to the care of drug and alcohol addicts and HIV positive (Interview with S. Underwood). For many, funds can last their lifetime- depending on the case.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children: Background

The oldest federally operated welfare program is Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), which gives monthly cash assistance to single or disabled parents with children (McKenna and Feingold 248). Begun under the Social Security Act of 1935 as Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), the government originally designed this as a temporary program for widows with children. Its intent was to enable the mother to raise her children at home (O'Neill 266).

Since its creation, AFDC has expanded to almost twice its size in both the number of clients and the size of benefits. Today, approximately two-thirds of the recipients are children (Children's Defense Fund), eight percent of the families are headed by teenage mothers, and eighty percent are of the families are headed by single mothers between the ages of 20 and 30. The average AFDC family has two children (Children's Defense Fund).

AFDC is administered by the the states with fifty percent of its costs funded by the federal government. Assistance depends upon the size of the family and the amount of income (Children's Defense Fund), but single mothers receive more aid than married. Currently, the maximum AFDC cash grant is approximately \$367 month for a single mother with two children, totaling \$4404 per year (Children's Defense Fund). Once enrolled, mothers can expect to receive a check, food stamps, free school meals, Medicaid, and possibly housing subsidies for at least five years (CRS, 5-19-93). Furthermore, although it's not strongly enforced, most recipients

must follow through job training, education, and child support proceedings (McKenna and Feingold 248). Overall, because the program is designed to give single mothers more aid than married, many argue it provides little incentive to marry and makes marriage economically irrational for low income parents.

Food Stamps: Background

The second poverty-assistance program is food stamps. Managed and entirely funded by the federal Department of Agriculture, food stamps increase the purchasing powers of recipients, while attempting to improve nutrition. Because purchases are limited to certain types of food, one could argue that little or no poverty-induced malnutrition exists in the United States today. Malnutrition in food stamp families is usually a result of improper care in purchasing and consuming food.

Medicaid: Background

The third poverty-assistance program is Medicaid. Medicaid provides health insurance to the poor, routine medical care for illnesses, hospitals and emergency services, and children's preventive care. Doctors and hospitals must agree to participate, but many do not, complaining that their time is spent treating minor, time consuming diseases and tending to extra paperwork. Many argue Medicaid creates a lack of choice for recipients, an overcrowding of emergency rooms, and additional, unnecessary, expensive costs for the government (Madelbaum Lecture).

Head Start: Background

Head Start is a pre-school education program for disadvantaged children between the ages of three and five (Sawhill 166). Its intention was to provide basic school preparation for disadvantaged children who lack the family and social environment for a positive, developmental experience. Begun in 1960, this program has produced positive gains in reading and math achievement, and as a result, participants, by the third grade, seldom have any developmental differences between them and their other classmates. The benefits are only temporary , but this program allegedly creates more positive attitudes, better self esteem, and a easier social adjustment for children who would be more likely to end up in special education programs.

In the long run, Head Start has proven successful. A twenty year study of 123 Head Start participants found fewer cases of drop outs, arrests, teenage pregnancy, welfare, and unemployment. In addition, it saves the government money on special education, public assistance, and crime (Sawhill 168). Overall, many feel the government should continue Head Start and even extend its program to younger children, involve more parents, and devoting extra funds to teacher training and curriculum improvement (Sawhill 169).

The State of Society and Culture

Child Welfare

Since the 1940s, society has seen a breakdown in the traditional two parent family and an increase in poverty rate, abuse, and single parent families. Many feel these are linked. In the traditional family, the father supported the family financially while the mother tended to the home and children. Today, the number of two parent families has decreased, and the mother is left with the burden of both these duties. Because working parents are not home as much to nurture their children, many believe the breakdown of the traditional family contributes to problems such as crime, drug and alcohol abuse, low test scores, suicides, and teen pregnancy. Children of single parents are apparently more likely to perform poorly in school, drop out early, and head single families themselves (Sawhill 147, 154 160).

Some say children today have better lives and opportunities than any of their ancestors. They have free access to a full twelve year education, overall better health, more material goods, and more parental attention due to fewer siblings. For many this true, but for some, their life is no better than it would have been one hundred years ago (Sawhill 150).

Sonny Burmeister, President of the Children's Rights Council of Georgia, argues "the family has been in a steep decline" (Burmeister 5). The "Kids Count Data Book" published by this Council did a study on child "wellness" (overall physical and psychological health) and ranked it by state. In the end, the study

1993 Kids Count Data Book Statistics

As provided by the Children's Rights Council of Georgia

States below are listed in order as to the percentage of "intact families" in each state (ranking shown on the left), and then the ranking by the "Kids Count Data Book" as to the state's child wellness is indicated to the right.

Ranking by % of intact families	STATE	Ranking by wellness of children	
1.	North Dakota	4	47. Alabama 48
2.	Idaho	16	48. Tennessee 43
3.	Utah	7	49. Louisiana 49
4.	Nebraska	9	50. Mississippi 50
5.	Iowa	5	51. District of Columbia 51
6.	Wyoming	12	* 1993 Kids Count Data Book statistics.
7.	New Hampshire	1	
8.	Rhode Island	14	
9.	Wisconsin	8	
10.	Kansas	13	
11.	Connecticut	6	
12.	Vermont	3	
13.	Pennsylvania	22	
14.	Hawaii	15	
15.	South Dakota	20	
16.	Montana	21	
17.	Alaska	26	
18.	Minnesota	2	
19.	West Virginia	27	
20.	Washington	17	
21.	Maine	10	
22.	Ohio	24	
23.	Missouri	36	
24.	Oklahoma	35	
25.	Texas	31	
26.	New Mexico	46	
27.	Arizona	37	
28.	Oregon	19	
29.	New Jersey	18	
30.	California	33	
31.	Kentucky	32	
32.	Virginia	23	
33.	Colorado	25	
34.	Massachusetts	11	
35.	North Carolina	39	
36.	Nevada	28	
37.	Indiana	29	
38.	Delaware	34	
39.	South Carolina	44	
40.	Michigan	40	
41.	Arkansas	41	
42.	Maryland	30	
43.	Illinois	38	
44.	Georgia	47	
45.	New York	42	
46.	Florida	45	

showed a direct correlation between the number of intact two parent families and child "wellness." Burmeister says that the more intact the family, the better the health of the children. A native of West Virginia, he uses that state as an example. West Virginia, he says, has a high percentage of intact, two parent families, yet the poverty rate is high too. In contrast, other states such as Florida and Georgia, who have better economies, have high single-parent rates which place them lower than West Virginia in child wellness (Burmeister 5).

There are several factors escalating the breakup of the traditional two parent family. Some blame the influence of television. In 1950, only nine percent of households owned a television, but by 1990, 98 percent of households did. Although television broadcasts quality, educational programs such as "Sesame Street" and "Mr. Rogers," in many cases television is used as a babysitter or a substitute for other family activities. In addition, television contains a large amount of violence which researchers fear creates feelings of aggression in children-reflecting the increase in violence since 1950 (Sawhill 162). Second, on average parents spend ten fewer hours with their children than three decades ago, so children often lack the attention, nurturing, and discipline they would otherwise receive. Finally, families are much more mobile today than they were fifty years ago. By moving longer distances and more often, children are not surrounded by their extended families (grandparents, aunts, uncles) (Sawhill 153-155).

Unfortunately, today it is economically nearly impossible for a middle class couple to revert back to the traditional structure of one working parent and one at

home. To do so, the family must delay childbirth for work. However, because better job opportunities and no fault divorces now exist, women have more opportunities to remove themselves from unhealthy marriages (Sawhill 151, 160, 161).

Not all poor children are disadvantaged. Some are temporarily poor but have parents who can provide the proper nurturing. Money is not always a necessity to be a good parent, but it does help to give parents a higher self-esteem and position in the community -which indirectly affects children. In addition, money provides material items and services (maid services) which allow the parent to spend more time with children (Sawhill 156, 158).

Although some argue parents are spending less time with their children, parents are actually spending "better" time reading and talking to their children. This increase in quality is attributed to an increase in education and a the decrease in family size. In the 1950s, the average number of siblings was three or four, but by 1990, it had decreased to 1.4. Overall, children who receive extra attention from small families tend to do develop better educationally and socially (Sawhill 153-155).

Even if society eliminated all poverty, some children will still grow up in inadequate environments. Some argue the government should provide additional funds to families to help alleviate childhood problems while services should expand to work with children early on and work with parents (Sawhill 179, 184). The government, they say, should encourage family responsibility, productivity, values, and better parenting by providing programs that reward family formation, preservation, and strength. Furthermore, the government should enhance its job

training, job placement, and child care programs (Burmeister 6).

The Big Pressure of Welfare: Teen Pregnancy

According to the Congressional Budget Office, fifty percent of all unmarried teens with children receive welfare (AFDC, food stamps, and Medicaid) at a cost of approximately \$29.3 billion dollars. Poorly educated, these young mothers often quit school, refuse to work, and raise children in poverty. Without the moral and financial support of a father and dependent on welfare, their children tend to drop out of school, get into trouble with the law, and have children themselves. This is called "the continuous cycle of poverty." Instead of lifting out of poverty, it becomes a way of life (Democratic Leadership Council).

Currently, on average- disregarding the \$4307 in Medicaid- a welfare mother of two children receives only approximately \$3000 less than a female high school dropout working full time minimum wage. In other words, if a mother were to work full time, she would gain very little monetary benefit, give up her leisure time, and deal with the problems of child care. There is little incentive to move off welfare, (Besharov C3), and most young mothers remain basically unmotivated (Besharov A10).

The current system of welfare provides no incentive for young mothers to postpone childrearing and work. In a 1988 survey, when asked about the birth of their child, 87 percent of all teen mothers claimed their babies's births were "intended" (Besharov A14). When President Clinton asked 120 young people on

welfare rolls if a limit on benefits and an enforcement of mandatory child support payments would reduce teen pregnancies, 85 percent of these teens said “yes” (Allen 23). The belief is that such a change in the program would force teenagers to take responsibility and consider, in advance, the possible consequences of their actions.

Isabel Sawhill, Associate Director for Human Resources at the Office of Management and Budget of the Clinton Administration, believes that the government needs to provide teenagers with more information about sexuality to reduce teenage pregnancy. This includes sex education about contraceptives and their usage, promotion of abstinence to delay intercourse, family planning and school clinics to supply the information and birth control, and life option programs to provide counseling, decision-making skills, educational opportunities, and employment services (Sawhill 176, 177).

Douglas Besharov, a resident scholar of the American Enterprise Institute, believes that the motivated mothers will benefit from the Clinton proposal, but like the previous programs, the government will have a difficult time getting the unmotivated mothers to change their habits. Two year limits on welfare, he says, will throw mothers on the street no better prepared to support themselves (Besharov A10). Besharov also argues that mandatory work experience is costly and unsuccessful, while the community service programs are too expensive to create, administer, monitor, and provide day care. In addition, he claims program costs will average \$6300 dollars per participant- in contrast to the current AFDC grant of \$5000 per year. “Welfare costs for those in the program would more than double,”

he states, "without recipients receiving any increase in payments to them (Besharov C3)."

Besharov believes the government should focus on postponing parenthood until the individual is "financially and emotionally" secure by providing contraceptive and planned parenthood services to all AFDC recipients, enforcing family caps, requiring completion of high school, and teaching school students about sex education. In addition, he suggest a modern version of settlement houses to provide counseling, education, and other activities to fill idle time all in one location. Unmarried mothers, he claims, need this structure (Besharov A10).

At the University of Pennsylvania, sociologist Elijah Anderson states, "Most middle-class youths take a stronger interest in their future and know what a pregnancy can do to derail it. In contrast, many adolescents see not a future to derail- hence they see little to lose on by having a child out of wedlock (Besharov C3)." Besharov points that young people need to feel they have a future filled with opportunities. He concludes that schools need to return to "serious vocational education in high schools" and move away from the emphasis on college-preparatory programs that leaves many disadvantaged youths without skills for better jobs (Besharov C3).

Depression and Drug Alcohol, and Domestic Abuse

Alcohol, drugs, depression, domestic abuse, and disabilities are a large factors

in welfare problems. Drinking and drugs affect more than sixteen percent of AFDC mothers. Treatment is mandatory in order for these women to succeed in the work force. However, because drug and alcohol abuse is difficult to prove, many cases go untended (Whitman, Friedman 37).

A substance abuse is defined as being “anyone who had used an illicit drug within the past year” (Claiborne, May 20, 1994), including marijuana and five or more drinks more than twice a month. Substance abuse among young mothers is a growing problem in the system. Thirty-seven percent of all substance abusers are between the ages of 18-24. The Report of the Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University, says that one-third, or one million out of 4.2 million, teen mothers are addicted to drugs and alcohol -a costly habit for the mother and damaging for the children. In addition if one were to include unreported cases, the numbers would be even higher. The Department of Health and Human Services claims complications of substance abuse costs taxpayers \$4 billion dollars a year in Medicaid costs (Claiborne, May 20, 1994).

Domestic abuse is also common among welfare recipients. Many women are beaten by their husbands or boyfriends for small misdeeds. For example, Carmen Mattison, a welfare recipient of Grand Rapids, Michigan says her boyfriend, thinking she had been with another man, beat her when she returned home from the library five minutes late. Because of domestic abuse, many mothers fear leaving their children with a babysitter or in day care while working, adding to the decision of whether to leave welfare (Whitman and Friedman 32).

A number of welfare mothers cope with depression and disabilities.

Researchers claim twenty-five to forty percent of all long term recipients have disabilities preventing them from holding jobs (Whitman and Friedman 31). In response, depressed mothers seek diversions such as television which often is on over seven hours a day in half of all AFDC households. In addition, one-third of all mothers are disabled or care for a disabled child. The government works to refer these women to therapists, but this problems greatly affect the success of workfare programs (Whitman and Friedman 37).

What is Wrong with the Current System?

Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation argues that, "Welfare actually harms rather than helps the poor" (Rector, The Heritage Foundation). The current system is held to be inefficient and wasteful, and has apparently created a culture of dependency on the government, an erosion of work ethics, a lack of educational aspiration and achievement, an inability or unwillingness to control one's children, an increase in single parenthood, an increase in criminal activity, and an increase in drug and alcohol abuse (McFenna and Feingold 248). The welfare system has made negligible progress in reducing poverty.

To some, welfare is nothing more than "a check in the mail with no obligations" (McFenna and Feingold 253). The current welfare system provides no incentive to work and isolates the poor into a separate economic and social mainstream. L.M. Mead, author of the book The New Politics of Poverty: The Non-

Working Poor in America, claims recipients have a “psychological state of dependency” that keeps them from moving off of the system (Axinn & Hirsch 564).

Furthermore, many believe the current system does not reinforce family values, discourages marriage, and rewards failure, not success. Welfare promotes material wealth, while failing to recognize society’s most virulent social ills. It encourages dependency rather than self-sufficiency and only cushions the blow of poverty rather than helping those to escape it. Consequently, welfare is failing both the needy and those who pay for it (Marshall and Schram 217).

President George Bush, in a 1991 commencement speech at the University of Michigan, described the welfare system as “addictive,” claiming it weakens the “moral sensitivity” of families while encouraging dependency. In his State of the Union address in 1992, he stated, “When able-bodied adults receive government assistance they have a responsibility to the taxpayer...a responsibility to hold their families together and refrain from having children out of wedlock (Axinn & Hirsch 563).

Some argue the system is inefficient and empowers the bureaucrats rather than the recipients. It fosters endless paperwork with little help in becoming independent (Whitman and Cooper 28), and caseworkers spend more time determining eligibility rather moving recipients off poverty (Democratic Leadership Council). Richard Caputo, the Assistant Professor, School of Social Work at the University of Pennsylvania argues that the system fails to keep up with the political and economic changes (Caputo 522).

Unfortunately, all Americans are paying for the disadvantages of welfare. The United States is producing citizens who lack the skills to compete productively in a global economy and is increasing taxes to finance schools, prisons, homeless shelters, drug treatment centers, and medical care. Cities are deteriorating while those who can afford to are fleeing to the better living conditions in the suburbs. While the gap between the rich and the poor is growing, the strong community structure of role models and stabilizes institutions is deteriorating.

Conclusion

The current system is extremely massive, incredibly expensive, and highly unmeasurable. The programs are a confusing set of policies pertaining to individualized cases. Furthermore, additional research and interviews prove that these policies are serve as just the basis for welfare, but additional research and personal interviews have proven that programs vary with implementation. In many cases, these programs can seem extremely different depending upon the region. On the local level, it is evident that the programs vary according to the specific needs of the clients.

The questions of administration are apparent in this chapter. Although the government implements a variety of programs in an attempt to improve the conditions of the poor, the question is whether these programs actually assist or hurt them. As the system continues to grow, the government faces the decision of limiting the benefits to certain needy. The government must determine who is

eligible and why, and it must consider every case individually. This is the question of merit.

The focus of the paper is to compare the rural and urban poverty and determine their differences. While it is the duty of the states to meet the needs of either the rural or urban poor, the "one-size fits all" policies of the federal government overpower the basic decisions of the local governments. In the long run, it is the federal government who determines the merit while the local governments control the administration.

While chapter four portrays the plight of the rural poor, chapter five introduces the current ideas for welfare reform. In the reading of these chapters, it is important to consider the problems facing the rural poor in comparison to the urban and determine if the current reform bills actually meet the needs of the rural poor. One must question whether policymakers wrote them with the concerns of the urban poor or the rural poor in mind.

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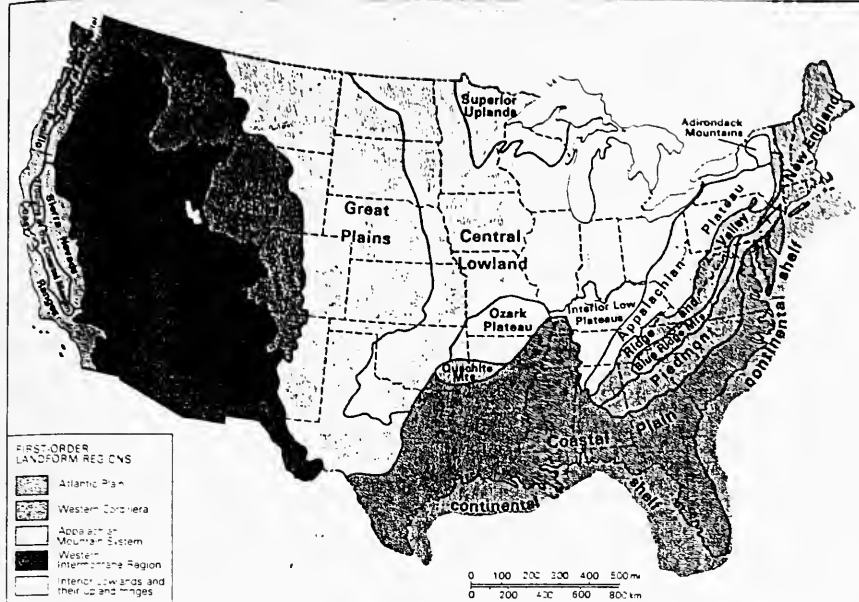
Chapter 4: A Focus on the Pending Problems of Rural Poverty

Introduction

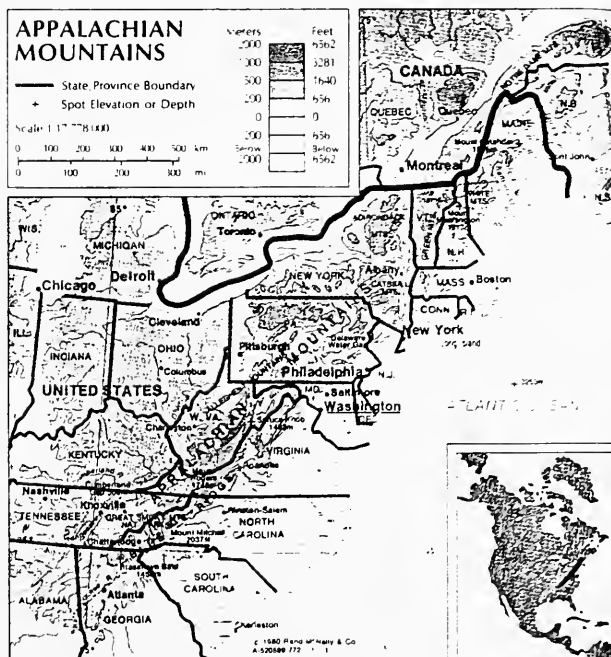
This chapter discusses the differences between the problems of the urban and rural poor and uses the state of West Virginia as a case study. Based on personal experience, interviews with those directly involved in the system, and research, the content of this chapter proves that indeed, rural poverty is extremely different than urban poverty. This chapter will familiarize the reader with present status of rural poverty and of its evolution, so that one may compare policies of rural welfare programs to the ideas for reform. In doing so, it is important to try to determine if the reform programs will meet not only meet the needs of the urban poor, but meet the needs of the rural poor as well.

Life in Rural Communities

The United States, once a rural society, is now an urban one. In 1790, the first federal census reported a population of 3.7 million with nineteen out of every twenty (President's Commission 3) citizens or 94.9 percent (Landis 5) living in rural areas. In 1920, the urban population grew to 54.3 million while the rural population grew only to 51.8 million, and in the decade from 1940-1950, urban growth doubled. This urbanization of the American people can be contributed to the industrialization of American society. Through the mechanization of farming and military service during WWII, industries expanded (President's Commission 3).



"Appalachian Mountains." The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 29.
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(Above) This Appalachian valley lies at the foot of New Hampshire's Mt. Washington (1,917 m/6,288 ft), the highest point in the northeastern United States. The Appalachian Mountains, which parallel the Atlantic coast from Newfoundland to Alabama, were the first great barrier to early settlers as they moved into the country's interior.

"Appalachian Mountains." Academic American Encyclopedia, Volume 2.
Grolier Inc.: Danbury, CT, 1991.

Farmers could manage larger farms leaving the smaller farms to go out of business, causing many rural inhabitants to sell their land and move to the cities in search of jobs and opportunities where factories welcomed them as cheap labor. Although working conditions in the cities were bad, these people endured the hard labor with hopes of a better future.

In addition to the urban migration, there was a shift in rural America from farming to nonfarm occupations such as mining, logging, farming, milling, and defense. These people earned a living by some other means rather than farming. By 1950, 60 percent of the rural population consisted of nonfarmers (President's National Advisory 3).

Many say there is a distinction between personal poverty and community poverty, but in West Virginia and other such rural communities, there is a high percentage of both. They are greatly interrelated. Personal poverty refers to absolute needs such as food, clothing, and shelter. Community poverty refers to when personal poverty reflects on the economic system of a geographic area or community to a point that the community is not able to provide an adequate standard of living for its inhabitants. Currently in the United States, very little absolute personal poverty exists. In fact, many viewed as poor today would have been relatively wealthy 150-200 years ago. As for community poverty, this impoverishment can be seen in the schools, government, health, and medical services (Chamber of Commerce 154, 155).

"Appalachia" is a region of the Appalachian Mountains stretching along the

eastern United States encompassing parts of the states of Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Virginia. Without any major urban centers, this region is characterized by steep and narrow valleys and a unique culture. More than one half of all Appalachia is rural, and there exists both community and personal poverty. Rural communities have a higher rate of unemployment than urban cities, and because earning capacities are based on education, age, occupation, and local economy, income is generally lower as well. These unemployed are usually not college educated (President's Commission 7, 10). On the other hand, because population itself is an economic resource, rural communities are also more likely than the urban to have lower incomes or no income at all (Chamber of Commerce 161). Many communities suffer from poverty because they depend on property taxes for revenue. The property value is lower than that of urban, and because there is a large discrepancy in the amount of land owned by farmers and nonfarmers, in the end the large land-owning farmers tend to pay more in property taxes. The community is then supported by a small elite. Furthermore, because lower property taxes for schools encourages state supplements and industries to move in stimulating business, rural communities often understate the value of their land while large property owners use their political power to lower their taxes. (Chamber of Commerce 168).

Because the inhabitants of rural communities are more likely to be impoverished, local institutions are less likely to depend on local support. Despite the stereotype, civic cooperation in rural communities is weak, so schools and

hospitals look to the state and federal government for funding. As a result, services vary drastically from one community to another (President's Commission 74).

Schools are the main public institutions in rural communities, but because they cannot match the salaries, facilities, and curricula of those of large cities, public education in rural communities is not often of high standard (Chamber of Commerce 24). To meet these standards, rural communities have attempted consolidation of schools. This seems like an ideal solution, but in all actuality, it is often no better. Although these consolidated schools can offer more educationally, unfortunately, many students end up traveling longer distances -up to 1 1/2 hours each way- to commute to school (Chamber of Commerce 24).

As rural communities continue to see a decline in farming as a major occupation, the community faces a change in its composition. Once inhabitants moved away from the communities, rural communities lack the resources to pull them back. Communities need good schools, hospitals, churches, and social facilities to attract young professionals and stimulate economic growth (Chamber of Commerce 168). To make matters worse, rural communities suffer from an overflow of children (under the age of 16) and nonworking, dependant aged adults (over 65)- a result of high fertility rates and a longer life expectancy (President's Commission 6, 53). In the end it has proven difficult for the small younger working class to provide all of the needed services for these dependents (President's Commission 55).

Since 1950, roads have improved making towns more interdependent, and local school systems have become strongly tied to the state (President's Commission 75, 76). The 20th century introduced public services such as welfare and medical services in which some communities have been able to provide (President's Commission 83). One of the first welfare movements in rural areas was the distribution of pasteurized milk to reduce infant mortality. Begun in the 19th century, these services eventually expanded to provide information to mothers about nutrition and care of her baby (President's Commission 333)

Today, overall most rural poor are white and over half live in the south. They face problems such as deplorable housing, inadequate sanitation which leads to potential intestinal parasites and diseases, and they suffer from poor health, low motivation, and little education. The saying that "poverty causes diseases, and diseases cause poverty" is especially true in rural West Virginia where citizens do not have access to the services to prevent or treat their problems. Health services were very rare, and hospitals did not arrive in rural communities until the 20th century. The often lack prompt medical care, ambulances, clinics, and preventive shots. Medical personnel in rural areas are mainly general practitioners and very few are specialists. Rural practitioners often might do more complicated surgery than what urban doctors might wish (President's Commission 315). Hospitals tend to not be as well-staffed or well-equipped as urban hospitals, and many foreign doctors fill the spaces needed (President's Commission 316, 326). Rural inhabitants receive less dental care, and nutrition problems are result of more difficult access to

food and ignorance about nutrition (President's Commission 333).

Diseases and illnesses have dramatic affects on rural families (President's Commission 75, 311). Although the problems of the poor are similar to those of the urban, the main disadvantage facing the rural is their limited lack of access to services a result of geographical distances (Chamber of Commerce 19, 20).

West Virginia in Perspective

Personal experience and interviews have provided the following information about the status of the state of West Virginia as a major division of Appalachia and of a rural state with a small economy and population.

Nature has had a great influence on the fortunes of certain regions of the United States. In the past, if a region contained large waterways for transportation and trade, fertile soil for farming, mineral deposits, and a favorable climate, it was more likely to be settled by prosperity-seeking Americans. West Virginia, lacking most of these, missed the benefits of mass settlement (Chamber of Commerce 96).

Financial capital is difficult to raise in West Virginia. The ancestors of current West Virginians were mountain people who faced difficult circumstances and harsh conditions. The state's terrain isolated them from much of the outside world, and because of its lack of large rivers and ocean industry and its mountainous and rocky terrain, farming was difficult. Therefore, while the eastern United States experienced prosperity and growth in its economy and population, West Virginia lacked the capital and environment to attract business and industry.

West Virginia's economy is generally incapable of generating high income jobs- except for a small elite. In the latter half of the 20th century, young adults have migrated out of the state in search of better jobs and opportunities. Left behind are a young, small, educated minority of citizens between the ages of 25-40 to support a growing elderly population and young children (Chamber of Commerce 96).

There are several reasons that explain the poverty and lack of economy in the rural state of West Virginia. Abundant in natural resources such as oil, gas, and coal, the West Virginia economy has based itself on the mining of these resources and the manufacturing of glass and steel (Spieler 352).

As seen in the following table, since the 1950s, the economic base of West Virginia has declined dramatically while the number of service-oriented jobs have increased. Unfortunately, service-based jobs generally do not have the benefits or the pay like those of industry-based jobs. As many young workers leave the state in search of better job opportunities, the shrinking economy is left to support the growing number of unemployed or underemployed (Spieler 353).

TABLE ONE

WV Employment Trends in Selected Sectors and Total Employment, 1950-1990

(number of employees in thousands)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Coal Mining</u>	<u>Manufacturing</u>	<u>Services</u>	<u>Total Employment</u>
1950	117.5	131.4	44.3	524.3
1955	70.9	130.5	47.3	480.5
1960	51.0	124.6	51.1	460
1965	42.4	129.2	56.1	476.6
1970	45.3	126.5	66.8	516.5
1975	59.5	121.1	79.6	574.7
1980	59.7	117.2	99.5	645.9
1985	38.2	89.5	116.4	597.2
1990	29.9	87.1	145.5	627.8

Source: West Virginia Department of Employment Security (1990). Charleston, WV.

(Spieler, Emily. "Social Welfare Policy in the Context of Economic Restructuring: Lessons from the West Virginia Worker's Compensation Programme" Urban Studies. Vol. 3, No 2, March 1993, 351-364.)

The decrease in demand for West Virginia's natural resources is result of international competition and government regulations. It requires special equipment and good roads to transport these resources out of state. West Virginia's

mountain region, large hills, and deep and narrow valleys make building roads and digging holes expensive. Therefore, West Virginia resources are more expensive to produce and transport. The state did not build major interstates until the 1960s and early 1970s. Furthermore, government regulations have affected the production of coal in West Virginia. In 1988 President George Bush and Congress passed the Clean Air Act, demanding industries decrease the use of sulphur coal to lessen air pollution, and as a result, West Virginia lost a fairly large portion of its industry.

In an attempt to stimulate its stagnant economy, today West Virginia is trying to attract new industries and businesses. In the past five years alone, by promoting a low cost of living and abundant amount of land and with the help of Senators Robert C. Byrd and John D. Rockefeller, the state has acquired the new fingerprinting division of the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) to the city of Clarksburg. In Fairmont, it has acquired the NASA research building. Although this practice has met much criticism from other states, West Virginians feel that after years of suffering from lack of economy and attention from the federal government, they deserve a chance "to catch up."

Conclusion

West Virginia has one of the highest poverty rates in the United States for uncontrollable reasons such as location, geography, and history. However, it is an excellent example of rural poverty in relation to urban poverty. West Virginia is far removed from the educated, big-city policymakers in Washington. It tends to be

forgotten while the politicians focus on the poverty only a block away from Capital Hill.

What is important to realize is that rural poverty is different from urban poverty, and therefore must be treated as a separate entity. The policies of the large cities do not necessarily fit the structure and culture of the rural communities. By trying to implement such policies, the government would be wasting both energy and resources.

The following chapter introduces reform efforts currently before government. It is important to analyze these reforms in relation not only to the problems of the urban poor, but to the rural poor as well. The question is whether or not these programs fit the needs of rural communities.

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Chapter 5: Proposals for National Welfare Reform

Introduction

This final chapter discusses ideas for welfare reform that currently exist in the government today. This chapter presents proposals from both sides of the political spectrum, then discusses additional options such as privatization, workfare programs, incentives, counseling, and education programs that might help alleviate the existing difficulties of poverty. In reading this chapter, it is important to consider the poverty of rural communities to determine if these programs actually meet the needs of these citizens. Furthermore, it is important to think about both the administration and the merit of these programs. One should consider the relevancy of the program, who deserves to receive these forms of aid, and how the programs are to administered. In the end, all government proposals and programs should fit the budget and the objectives of the federal government.

The Presidential Proposal

President Clinton announced his proposal for welfare reform in June of 1994. It suggested several key points concerning single parenting, fraud, work, and administration, and it defined its goal to educate, train, and place young mothers and others on welfare in jobs (The Working Group).

First, the Clinton administration proposed a two year limit as an attempt to

save government dollars and force recipients off welfare and back to work. During the two years, the recipient will participate in job training and placement programs. By the end of the two years, if the recipient does not have a full-time position, he or she will lose financial support. The administration proposed to exempt all disabled recipients or those caring for children with disabilities from the two year limit although they must still participate in the employment program. Finally, the administration will exempt mothers from the JOBS program for twelve months for their first child and three months for her second child (The Working Group).

Second, the administration suggests a workfare program in which recipients must work to receive their public aid. Recipients will work 15-35 hours per week minimum wage, and the government will pay them only for the hours they work. Work assignments will last up to twelve months until the participant moves to the private sector. However, if the recipients at any time, turn down a private sector job, they will lose their individual aid (The Working Group).

Third, the administration would like to reduce the number of single parents by forcing hospitals to establish paternity at the birth of a child. Before receiving benefits, applicants will give the name of the father and attempt to reach him. In turn, the government will penalize abandoning fathers who refuse to pay paternity by withholding wages or suspending professional, occupational, and driver's licenses. Finally, the administration will provide incentives or rewards for catching fleeing parents. If a parent does not meet his or her obligations, the parent must work off the child support he or she owes (The Working Group).

Fourth, the administration wants to encourage traditional family values by providing parenting programs such as mediation, counseling, and education. It wants to diminish single parenting and maintain strong, two-parent families (The Working Group).

Fifth, the administration wishes to reduce fraud in its system. It plans to introduce a new computer system which records the income, identity, alien status, social security number, and assignment identity number of a recipient to monitor his or her work, time limit, and earnings. It will also identify parents who refuse to pay child support and provide incentives for job placements and child support. Finally, the computer will reduce paperwork. By introducing the Electronics Benefits Transfer (EBT), public aid will work like an ATM card with no checks or food stamps (The Working Group).

Finally, the administration will attempt to curb teen pregnancy by conducting prevention programs in schools addressing health, safety, and economic opportunity. If a student under the age of twenty-one becomes pregnant, she must stay in school until graduation and then move toward work. In addition, she must live with another adult and identify the father of the child to receive child support payments. Lastly, she must attend parenting courses. By requiring this, Clinton believes this would fulfill his goal to “promote education, work, and good parenting” (State of the Union Address, 1-24-95).

Clinton claims the current system “rewards welfare over work” while “undermining values.” He says it keeps a certain minority trapped in poverty

unable to get out of the cycle. He believes his new system will promote “work and responsibility over welfare and dependency” and will make “welfare a second chance, not a way of life” without punishing people because they are poor. He believes it is possible to work your way off welfare using Representative Lynn Woosley from California as an example. She worked her way off welfare to become a Congresswoman of the United States (State of the Union Address, 1-24-95).

Evaluation of Presidential Proposal

In the past, other attempts similar to the Clinton Administration’s have gone through the government. In 1988, the Family Support Act proposed that welfare recipients participate in employment and training programs. Introduced by democratic Senator Patrick Moynihan, passed through a Democratic Congress, and signed by Republican President Ronald Reagan, this program resulted in nothing more than an increase in caseloads by 25 percent -up to 13 million- with no significant decrease in the number of recipients (Kondratas 1).

Recent polls indicate that 88 to 94 percent of all Americans think that all able-bodied welfare recipients should work. However, many doubt that the work programs would work (Kondratas 2). By requiring all to work, the government is suggesting that jobs are available while disregarding problems of child care and substance abuse (Kondratas 3).

Eric Pianin of the Washington Post argues that two year limits force recipients to take “dead-beat” jobs that will do nothing to break the cycle of poverty. He

Clinton Proposal

Work and Responsibility Act of 1994

Five-Year Cost Summary¹

(\$ billions)

Additional funding for education, training and placement	2.8
WORK slots for participants who reach the two-year time limit	1.2
Additional child care spending for those in the mandatory education and training program and in the WORK slots	2.7
Additional child care for the working poor	1.5
Initial investments in the child support enforcement system and demonstrations	0.6
Teen pregnancy prevention	0.3
Other ²	1.7
Total	10.8
Net savings ³	(1.5)
Net total	9.3

¹ Budget outlays

² Includes state option to eliminate bias against two-parent families; investments in automation; and incentives to work and save.

³ From caseload reductions and reduced fraud

believes the Clinton proposal does not go far enough (Pianin, May 20, 1994).

Overall, the Clinton reform plan is estimated to cost approximately \$9.3 billion dollars (Pianin, June 22, 1994).

In reference to rural poverty, this proposal does not meet the needs of the rural poor. First, a workfare program would not benefit rural communities where there lacks the economy to create and finance these jobs. Furthermore, by giving them basic jobs such as trash collecting and painting, the state is placing other employees out of work. This often creates discontent among labor unions. Second, in a community of little or no public transportation, many families lack the ability to travel to work. It is costly for the government to assume the role of a taxi. Third, again there is no economy to support an expansion of the minimum wage. Finally, the establishment of paternity is for the most part irrelevant for the state of West Virginia. West Virginia has a higher rate of intact, two parent families than the cities. On the other hand, the difficulties of the rural are not so much family structure as they are family violence, child abuse, and neglect. The isolation of many homes prevents families from interacting with others, and the lack of transportation prevents parents from attending counseling and training programs.

The Republican Proposal: "Contract with America"

The goals of the Republican proposal are to reduce illegitimacy and require work while saving the taxpayers money. To help curb teenage pregnancy and

promote family responsibility, the Republicans want to eliminate all benefits to teenage mothers under the age of 18. They believe that paternity must be established in all illegitimate births-except in the cases of rape and incest, and they wish to require work (35 hours a week or work training programs) for benefits after two years. After five years on the dole with no job, Republicans want to force families off public assistance (Gingrich 66-68).

Republicans wish to provide flexibility to states by giving block grants. In turn, states will have control over food stamps, WIC, and school lunch and breakfast programs. Furthermore, Republicans want to provide tax credits for marriages, adoptions, and families with children whose income is below \$200,000. Finally, Republicans want to eliminate assistance to all non-citizens under the age of 75 (Gingrich 73-81).

Evaluation of the Republican Proposal

Some believe that denying benefits to teenage mothers will cause more women to seek abortions. Others worry about the lack of child care for many of its programs. Finally, many fear that giving states more control over money will result in elimination of many important programs to the disabled, children, and substance abusers (Katz 872). Although the bill passed the House, there is little hope that the same bill will pass the Senate.

In comparison to the Presidential Proposal, the Republican proposal better fits the problems associated with rural poor. By giving states block grants, it is giving them the flexibility to develop programs that meet the needs of their specific

communities. It prevents the promotion of “one-size-fits-all programs” that have proven to be both ineffective and costly. On the other hand however, the Republican proposal displaces recipients after five years, when in many cases, these recipients lacked the economy and the transportation to find a job and support themselves.

Other Reform Ideas

Workfare Program: Will it Work?

One problem with today’s working economy is that most jobs are low-paying, service jobs that only hire part-time or part of the year. Those working in this environment deal with problems in child care, health care coverage, paid sick leave, and little job security (Axinn & Hirsch 565).

Experience and attitude are poor among welfare recipients. Most have been on welfare their entire life and have no knowledge of the work ethic. Employers have observed a lack of seriousness about the recipient’s work, and recipients tend to be casual toward punctuality, dress, and co-workers. For example, Rebecca Ybarra, a welfare recipient of Mereno Valley, California, refuses morning jobs, claiming ‘I’m not really a morning person’ and eliminates possibilities between the hours of 3 p.m. to 11 p.m. because “I wouldn’t get to see my kids (Whitman, Friedman 33).’

Work incentives have existed in the past administrations. Until the 1960s, society did not expect mothers to work, so there were few employment programs. Then, the government expanded AFDC benefits to include unemployed fathers. In

doing so, it encouraged states to establish Community Work and Training programs (CWT) with federal monies. Although this was a small effort, it eventually expanded to become the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 in which the federal government funded vocation training, work experience, education, and day care services (O'Neill 272).

In 1967, the government created the Work Incentive Program (WIN) and the Jobs Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) program in 1990. These larger-scaled programs required work and provided employability services to make a job-seeker more marketable. Some claim it just expanded bureaucracy and increased government employees while doing little to decrease the welfare rolls. In the 1970s, Richard Nixon developed his Family Assistance Plan (FAP). Although Nixon argued its work incentives would reduce welfare rolls, opponents argued it would actually increase it. Ford and Carter later developed their own variations of the FAP them -all of which were unsuccessful (Allen 23).

In 1981, the Reagan administration passed the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 (OBRA) which tightened benefits given to welfare recipients when Congress decided the WIN program did not work. This federal legislation has resulted in a decline in welfare participation, although it was a period of high employment (O'Neill 273)

Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) has evaluated the results of workfare projects. It has concluded that in most programs, employment slightly increased while welfare costs slightly decreased. However, in West Virginia, the MDRC found little change in earnings, probably a result of the state's high unemployment rate and rural character. Unfortunately, because the program is affected by so many external factors, it is both difficult and costly to determine whether these programs are successful. Mandatory work might deter an individual from entering the dole, while the enhanced child care and medical benefits might attract recipients (O'Neill 275, 276).

June O'Neill of Baruch College argues that training programs are unlikely to be successful for two reasons. First, government training programs are different than workplace programs. A workplace will efficiently train employees in specific areas. Second, welfare payments are not worth the work because participants receive more benefits on the welfare rolls. In response, O'Neill believes the government should focus its training efforts on young people before fertility (O'Neill 278).

Robert Rector of The Heritage Foundation believes successful work programs must demand continuous, mandatory community service work for full duration of benefits. Benefits should be paid after the work is completed, and the recipient should work at least 30 hours per week. The "general impression gained from most "workfare" programs is of large numbers of case workers busily engaged in

assessing, monitoring, and assigning clients to queues for services- and little activity on the part of recipients.” Studies show that some smaller, lesser-known workfare programs have been more successful (Rector 288, 294).

Rector describes one project: The Intensive Applicant Employment Services (IAES) which placed new AFDC applicants in job searches up to thirty days before provided with any AFDC benefits. If they did not get employment, they were given the benefits. The purpose of this project was to send the message that work was important and welfare was the “last resort.” As a result, AFDC caseloads have decreased by fifteen percent and caseloads by seven percent (Rector 290).

Besharov believes that mandatory work will create much opposition. Labeled “slavefare” in the 1960s and 1970s, the new workfare system will “make (the welfare system) a magnet to attract and keep more young mothers on welfare (Besharov, December 12, 1993).” He wonders if under the new plan, the government can provide adequate child care, avoid meaningless make-work jobs, and reduce its caseloads. The temptation of the government, he says, will be to exempt unwed mothers (Besharov, January 18, 1993).

Some workfare projects in Ohio emphasized community service rather than job search and training and by far have been one of the most successful in reducing welfare dependency. These programs required recipients to perform community service or work up to forty hours a week for the length of the benefits. By doing this, the caseloads decreased by 11.3 percent (Rector 291).

The last example of a successful workfare program is the Emergency Work

Program (EWP) in Utah. This program implemented one of the most stringent work programs in the country. The program required male parents of welfare families to participate in eight hours of job search and 32 hours of community service, education, or training. If a family did not fully participate, it lost its benefits (Rector 291). This program proves that enforced work requirements deter individuals from enrolling in welfare (Rector 292).

Overall, simply getting these welfare recipients to participate and complete the job training and services requires an extreme amount of manpower, time, and money. Social service workers claim that getting the recipient to even arrive for the first meeting takes “several phone calls, threatening letters and paperwork to sanction uncooperative clients.” Officials say that if eighty people are scheduled to participate in a program, 25 will show up for the first meeting. The 55 no-shows are rescheduled only to have 10-15 show up the second meeting. Studies show that after six months, only 68 percent of the clients eventually show up (Whitman, Friedman 39).

Two-thirds of welfare recipients have no high school diploma, and on average, math and verbal skills reach the eighth grade level. Lack of aptitude exists among many welfare mothers. According to David Whitman of U.S. News and World Report, “Most AFDC recipients score too low on intelligence tests to qualify for the armed forces (Whitman, Friedman 32). Furthermore, “studies prove that women participating in the AFDC program have significantly lower verbal, math, and cognitive skills than those not participating (Rector 292). Some argue that it is a

“grand illusion” to think the government can move these people off the payrolls. “Chronic welfare recipients,” says Whitman, “live in a world far removed from the committee rooms where lawmakers draft well-intentioned plans to put them to work.” These women have “so little work experience that social workers must rehearse scripts with them so they will remember to say ‘thank you’ and ‘goodbye’ at the end of job interviews.” Approximately, one-third of welfare recipients are unable to read street maps or fill out applications (Whitman, Friedman 30).

For some, getting off welfare is a frightening experience. Individuals are losing a steady check, their sense of security, and health benefits. For this reason, seventy percent of back-to-work welfare mothers quit or either fired within a year. The program must work to not only get them to work, but to keep them there as well (Whitman, Friedman 33).

In his article, David Whitman describes the bipartisan beliefs. He says the liberals believe that the government should provide more training and education, but the conservatives believe the government should push the poor on their feet. He says the truth is that many of these recipients are incapable of finding and keeping jobs and that even the best welfare program will not get these recipients off the dole (Whitman, Friedman 30).

It is highly unlikely welfare programs implemented in West Virginia would work. The rural communities lack the economy to employ and finance the program, there are little facilities for child care, there exists a lack of transportation for many of the participants, and the strong labor unions would fight the idea of

taking paid employment away from them.

Privatization

A trend is beginning to allow the private sector to take control of certain aspects of the public welfare system. Privatization has proven to be more efficient and effective while costing less to the taxpayers. For example, America Works, a privately owned New York employment business, succeeds in placing welfare recipients into private-sector jobs .

The company receives full payment for its services after the applicant is placed in a permanent, full time job for seven months (America Works). It recruits welfare recipients, trains them in basic workplace skills, behavior, and attitudes, then places them into jobs. The company has very stringent rules. The counselor coaches participants on personal appearance, proper speech, resume writing, punctuality, and child care, and if a participant is late, the company drops the individual from the program- although she may re-enroll at a later date. After class, the participants spend the rest of the day in computer labs, typing, word processing, and developing other office skills while waiting for job interviews. They seek their employment on their own (Stern).

In addition, America Works provides help in finding support for daycare, medical, housing, transportation, job supervision, and counseling. If the employer hires the applicant for a temporary term of four months, the employer pays America

Works directly. American Works then monitors and pays the employee weekly (America Works). America Works job counselors visit the new employee weekly to address any employee or employer concerns (Stern). It continues to provide training, job coaching, evaluations, and support services. By the end of the four months, the employer chooses whether or not to permanently hire the individual with payrolls costs, medical benefits and other normal benefits. Once the individual is hired, the state pays America Works a fee based on results and not on the program alone (America Works).

So far, this program has been successful in placing individuals in entry level positions such as secretaries, data entry clerks, mail clerks, health care workers, assemblers, inspectors, and food service personnel. Approximately 68 percent of the applicants receive a permanent job and a year later, 90 percent of these individuals are still working. The average person, once hired, earns approximately \$15,000 a year including benefits, allowing the individual to move off welfare (America Works).

For the government, this program saves money. A welfare mother costs the government approximately \$23,000 a year. If America Works places such a welfare mother in a job, the state pays it \$5300 thus saving the government \$17,700 a year ("Taking Welfare Private"). Participants like the program because according to one participant, the office is a "businesslike facility, in contrast with the grim welfare offices" she was use to visiting. The office employs a polite receptionist who directs participants to their place. There were no lines. Finally, staff members develop

personal relationships with participants to provide more positive support (Stern). Employers like the program because it provides trained entry-level job applicants- a commodity difficult to find today. America Works absorbs the costs of training and employee turnover. The employer is not charged a fee for the company's services. In the end, America Works "supplies companies with an easily accessible pool of tested, prepared, and motivated workers, as well as providing supports to ease the worker's transition into full-time employment" (America Works).

The affects of privatization on rural poverty is unclear, but because there is a small economy, there may be little opportunity for these programs to even enter the communities.

Providing Incentives

Anna Kondratas of the Hudson Institute describes some successful state programs that not only deal with poverty, but behavioral problems as well. In Maryland, the state decreases public aid to parents whose children are not vaccinate or who skip school. It provides bonuses to parents for medical checkups and prenatal care. In Ohio, the state will increase payments to teen mothers if they stay in school until graduation. In New Jersey, the state does not give any extra aid for additional children. Finally, in California, teen mothers are encouraged to live with their parents. All of these programs stress family responsibility, education, and health (Kondratas 4). Kondratas states that many new ideas begin at the Grass Roots with little cost to the taxpayers. She believes the system needs to provide reward for

work and marriage and punish recipients for dropping out of school or neglecting preventive health care (Kondratas 2). She stresses “empowerment” of the people—give them the responsibility of changing their own lives. She believes this is possible even in the worst of circumstances (Kondratas 5).

The Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) proposes a reform very similar to the President’s. Its goal is to not punish the poor, but to free them of the slavery of poverty. It proposes a time-limited, work-based policy to nudge people into independence, but by moving away from the current “ineffective and wasteful” bureaucracy of training programs. The DLC supports hiring placement and support agencies such as America Works in New York City, Cleveland Works in Ohio, and New Hope in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Second, the DLC suggests subsidizing private and public jobs with AFDC and food stamps as wages. Third, the DLC proposes providing incentive to reward caseworkers who successfully place recipients in jobs (Democratic Leadership Council).

The DLC would enforce child support payments, family caps, and community service for recipients after two years with no full-time employment. Once on community service, these citizens will no longer receive AFDC. Finally, teen parents must live with adults and remain in school until the age of 20 or until graduation. The DLC argues that the new system will cost more in the short run, but will save the government in the long run (Democratic Leadership Council).

Counseling for College

Joanne J. Thompson, Assistant Professor of the University of Tennessee College of Social Work, believes that agencies need to work more actively to encourage the capable recipients of pursuing college. She says the social workers should provide clients with information about opportunities for higher education. They should inform them of educational programs, admission to college, and financial aid. Second, there should be on-site child care services at the colleges (Thompson 438). Third, welfare agencies should introduce college representatives to clients to discuss opportunities and financial aid. Finally, welfare agencies should promote success stories by telling stories of previous clients who got off welfare through college (Thompson 440)

Peer Counseling

Amitai Etzioni believes that welfare needs to encourage socially responsible behavior, but preaching alone will not do this. He believes the system needs to work to change values and behaviors. All recipients have different problems, and the system should be capable of meeting all of these (Etzioni 1). Etzioni believes the government should begin a peer counselor program in which it hires part-time and trains disadvantaged youth to serve as counselors to their peers. The counselors would talk to their peers about sex education and drugs and career planning. Etzioni believes these peers would be more successful than adults because they will

be more likely to relate and reach them (Etzioni 4).

In selecting peer counselors, Etzioni says the program must find disadvantaged teens with leadership qualities, social skills, and possibly a slightly bit older in age. He suggest having some programs in a human resource center outside of the school to move the program away from the school bureaucracy and encourage more community involvement (Etzioni 5).

Unfortunately, the program will not pay enough for the peer counselors to make a living, however, it will give these teens an important role to help build self esteem and deter other peers from irresponsible behavior. He hopes it will decrease the crime, alcohol, and pregnancy rates. Etzioni says that even if a teen waits two more years until pregnancy, that is two years the government does not have to pay welfare payments (Etzioni 8). Etzioni claims the biggest asset of his program is that it focuses on the welfare clients only, not on outside trainers (Etzioni 10).

School Apprentice Programs

Another idea promoted by Etzioni is the establishment of school apprentice programs. Etzioni says the current school education program is mainly focused for college-bound students and forgets those who are not. He refers to a program described by Ted Kolderie, Robert Lerman, and Charles Moskos in their paper entitled, "Educating America: A New Compact for Opportunity and Citizenship." They place a middle school and high school education together in a series of five steps:

- 1.) 7-10th grade= Introduces children to the different occupations
 - 2.) 10th grade= students chose between college-bound or job apprentice track. If they chose job apprentice track, they sign a contract with a specific employer.
 - 3.) 11th grade= students begin their three year apprentice program in which they split their time between school and vocational training.
 - 4.) 12th grade= students take a comprehensive job and education test to ensure capability.
 - 5.) "13th grade"= students spent majority of time on the job.
- Their material is advanced enough to permit these students to earn one year of credit toward an associate's degree (Etzioni 10).

Kolderie, Lerman, and Moskos say the advantages of this program is that it expands the skilled workforce and improves opportunities for women and minorities. Second, it is low cost because the employees pay for much of the training. Third, it increases the importance of schooling for non-college students encouraging them to stay on and complete their high school degree. Fourth, it provides incentives to stay away from drugs, pregnancy, and alcohol. Fifth, because this is constructive work, it encourages "responsibility" and "civility." Finally, it should appeal to all students, not just one particular group. (Etzioni 11).

College counseling, peer counseling, and school apprentice programs would

definitely be an asset to the plight of rural communities. Many students lack the motivation to complete schooling because they see no reason for their education. The school apprentice programs would provide them with a practical and employable skill while the college counseling would encourage students to look beyond the limits of their families and educate their way out of poverty. Many have the intellect to attend college, but are unsure as to how to get there and how to finance their education. The counseling programs would provide for all these concerns.

Strengthening the System: Model Welfare Programs

The Basics

The National Center for Children in Poverty defines the eight basic components of a model welfare program. First, it must be “two-generational”-meeting the needs of both the parents and the children. Second, it must be “comprehensive” with services provided directly. Third, it must be “continuous.” Services should be provided constantly and not just in times of crisis. Fourth, it should be “developmental.” It should encourage communication between parent, child, and caregiver. Fifth, it should be “preventive” by strengthening the child’s immediate environment. Sixth, it should be “accessible” by providing services in schools, community organizations, or community-based family support centers. It should be open year-round and even on weekends. Seventh, it should be “sensitive to “culture and ethnicity.” It should recognize different cultures and its values.

Finally, it should be accountable by achieving positive measurable results (Jones 1).

Family Care Center: Lexington, Kentucky

The Family Care Center is a community-based program in Lexington, Kentucky. This center provides continuous services for day care, health care, adult education, and job training. It serves both parents and children in one location. The center opened in 1989 with the financial support of the county government, city bonds and the University of Kentucky medical school (Jones 2).

Parents as Teachers (PAT): Missouri

Parents as Teachers (PAT) program is a community-based program in Missouri. Beginning in 1981, this program teaches parenting skills. The program begins before the birth of the children with certified parent educators visiting families in their homes. They continuously review and child's progress and give information concerning child health and development. The program offers group meetings to provide support to parents and which give parents a sense of belonging by sharing experiences and concerns. Finally, the program has a network of contacts to link parents to other community resources they might need. Begun in 1984 by a coalition of government, educational, and foundation leaders, this state government finances the program. This program is an appropriate model of the benefits of partnerships between public and private sectors (Jones 2).

Schools of the 21st Century

Schools of the 21st Century is a school-based program- meaning it focuses on children of school age or pre-school age. Fortunately, it like other school-based programs, identifies that this program should begin at birth. Schools of the 21st Century provides a home visiting services that gives a parent -starting at pregnancy- the appropriate information and advice about health, and nutrition. Once the child turns three, the parent can receive child care at the school site. This program uses the school as a center for support and assistance (Jones 2).

Family Services Center: Gainesville, Florida

Family Services Center in Gainesville, Florida provides a health clinic, nursery, toy lending library, parent education, GED preparation, adult literacy, computer skills, case management services, job placement offices, economic services, and a food distribution center. This program receives funds from schools, Head Start, a community college, school board, state health grants, and Medicaid reimbursements (Jones 3).

Healthy Start- Family Support Program: Hawaii

Healthy Start-Family Support Program, beginning in 1985, is a health-based model in Hawaii which works to prevent child abuse and neglect. In cooperation with local hospitals, healthy start reviews daily maternity admissions to identify

families who are prone to these problems. This program is designed as a health center that goes beyond bio-medical services to meet the emotional and social needs of families. It has been successful in reducing the number of documented abuse cases (Jones 3).

Teenage Pregnancy and Parenting Project (TAPP)

Finally, Teenage Pregnancy and Parenting Project (TAPP), established in 1981, is a case management service that also provides parents and babies with health, education, and social services. Fortunately, “close personal relationships they develop with teenagers” and small caseloads. This program has been successful (Jones 3).

Programs That Did Not Work

New Chance

New Chance is a government pilot project founded in 1989 with the goal to reduce teen pregnancy. Funded by the Labor Department and twenty-four major private foundations, this programs provides high school education, family planning and counseling, and job training and placement for unmarried mothers. This program is currently operating in ten states. A recent study of this program indicates that 82 percent of the participants were still on welfare at least 18 months into the program. Approximately forty percent found jobs, but many of these quit stating they did not like their work and preferred staying home with their children. In addition, despite counseling, more than fifty percent of the participants became

pregnant again after or during her participation in the program. In the end, many say the government will have difficulty meeting its reform goals (Pianin, June 22, 1994).

Family Independence Program (FIP)

Family Independence Program (FIP) in Washington State, operated from 1988-1993, as an alternative to AFDC. Its goal was to reduce welfare rolls and caseloads by making the system more supportive. The program first provided financial incentives for education, training, and work. Then it incorporated food assistance in one monthly assistance check rather than issuing food stamps. Next, it increased child care services, and subsidies (including Medicaid) for up to one year after the recipients transition to work. Finally, it provided intense services against teenage pregnancy.

According to the Urban Institute, studies showed there was little or no impact on the education and training of an individual. Employment continued to decrease and the probability of being on welfare increased. The Urban Institute claims the increase in recipients and caseloads is due to a lack of understanding of the new program and the positive environment of the program making it appear more attractive. The Institute found however that the government saved money in administration costs by cashing out food stamps. They claim this increased the ability of recipients to meet their nonfood needs such as transportation and shelter. In the end, lessons learned from this program is that first, the recipient must have

complete and full participation in the program including continuous contact with welfare staff. Second, the program should not be made too complex, and finally, the program should be realistically budgeted taking in account all future costs and budgets (The Urban Institute 16).

What the System Should Do

Linda Chavez, Director of the Manhattan Institute's Center for the New American Community, believes that the government needs to be tougher on welfare and avoid providing additional benefits. She claims since 1960, six welfare revisions passed through Congress to provide job training for welfare recipients. Despite this, welfare rolls have more than doubled.

Currently, she says, most recipients spend less than two years on the rolls. If the government spends more money on programs, training, job search, and child care, it will only be enhancing the advantages of staying on the rolls. Recipients will want to take advantage of the extra benefits by staying on the rolls for the full term. She believes the government benefits are only attracting families to the system. In the end, she says that low motivation is the main problem of these recipients, and that the only way to alleviate the system is to be tough. She says, "The only way 'to end welfare as we know it' is to end welfare" (Chavez).

Joanne J. Thompson, Assistant Professor at the University of Tennessee College of Social Work believes the social system needs to help recipients by

encouraging them to further their schooling. Some services that would be helpful are child care at colleges or during job interviews, supportive services such as crisis intervention, better career and college advising, better financial advising, and providing realistic information as to what they would expect. In a study of welfare recipients who pursued college, of those who completed their college degrees, most said that support from family and friends was stronger than that of their schools and welfare agencies. In addition, financial aid was extremely important in completing their degree because the cost is a major obstacle in going to college. Thompson thinks this proves that welfare agencies need to become more actively involved (Thompson 436).

June M. Axinn, professor of Social Work at the University of Pennsylvania and Amy. E. Hirsch, Supervising Attorney, Community Legal Services, Inc. believe that many of the current welfare proposals are based on the theory that recipients just do not want to work. In reality however, many want to work, but working would not move them out of poverty. Proposals also believe that women are not capable of raising their children properly. By introducing proposals that threaten to take away benefits of someone if their children do not go to school, receive vaccinations, pay their rent, or have children while receiving aid, the system is suggesting that welfare mothers do not care as much as other mothers. Overall, most social problems are blamed on the mother instead of inadequate school and health systems (Axinn & Hirsch 566).

Conclusion

Many of these ideas for reform would meet the needs of rural communities. However, they suggest a strong role of government in the welfare of its citizens while avoiding the decision of merit. The concluding chapter addresses the project as a whole taking in consideration all the previously addressed questions and concerns of the system, the possibilities of reform, and, in the case of rural poverty, what rural communities need to revitalize their economy and increase the standard of living of its inhabitants.

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Chapter 6: Conclusion

Welfare policies and reform often can ignore the problems of rural poverty and focus their attention, resources, and energy of the urban poor. In the history of the welfare system, there was little difference between the two because the United States was mainly a rural country. It was not until after the creation of the welfare state in the 1930s that the rural communities began emigrating to the larger cities in search of work. Industrialization assisted in changing the makeup of the U.S. population. The rural communities, left behind with suffering economies, fought to maintain their populations and levels of production without much success.

With the influence of the Civil Rights Movement and the increase in crime and single parenting, the focus of welfare has turned to those of the urban-inner city. Because urban poverty is easily observed, it tends to gain more attention from the media and general public. Unlike rural poverty, it is not hidden deep in the river valleys behind miles of isolated dirt roads. With all of this inner-city attention, it is difficult to remember where a significant if not more of the poor live.

Rural communities, despite the amount of aid, will probably never have the economy of the larger cities. Often the entire community as a whole is poor. Its inhabitants lack not only money but adequate health, education, transportation, and social systems as well. The problems of the rural poor are beyond pushing inhabitants on their feet. It involves pushing them to walk... very far. For rural poverty, the government should address this problem as a separate issue than that

of the rural communities. It should provide programs with the flexibility to adjust to the specific needs of the rural communities.

The welfare debate has two aspects: administration and merit. Although it may be the most significant point of the welfare debate, merit is the issue least discussed among policymakers for fear of seeming too insensitive to their constituents' needs. Instead, policymakers focus on the administration. The structure of the program is "picked and pulled" continuously for reasons no other than avoiding the true problem of welfare: the decision of who deserves and what precisely should be the government's role in welfare.

The U.S. government has done an outstanding job of improving its support in welfare from originally little to no involvement to full-time support. In early England and America, when private charities and churches supported the unfortunate, they alone had the power to accept or discriminate, give or demand. The workhouses and poorhouses were often in deplorable conditions and in turn caused much of the human suffering and pain.

On the other hand, the government can attempt to try to do too much. The government acquired a special role in the 1930s to care for the children, widows, and elderly. Intended as only temporary, this support instead has increased much beyond its original size. Although it has in many ways benefited those participating, in the long run, many believe the welfare system has worsened the conditions of the poor in other ways beyond what one could possibly have imagined in 1930.

Many blame the current welfare system for the breakdown in the family

structure. In its attempt to meet the material needs of all people, it has overlooked many social and emotional needs. It has diminished the pride of working for ones earnings, it has weakened the need for family support, and it has created a culture of citizens that will always be wanting more. In a sense, the government has become a parent to its citizens.

The government needs to completely reinvent the welfare system. It should start from the beginning and build a new system that fits the present society and economy. It should create a government that pushes instead of carries and whose recipients ask instead of demand. Personal interviews with employees of The Department of Health and Human Services have proven that in many cases rules are not enforced. Too much effort is spent protecting the human rights instead of encouraging human responsibility. If a workfare program requires work in turn for payments, then by all means, the recipient should work.

Today, the government is attempting to meet *all* the needs of the people. Its programs have stretched to a point that instead of accomplishing one goal, it meets only a little bit of several different goals. The governments needs to develop a few, concrete obtainable objectives. Then, it should focus all of its energy and resources on these only.

Although it sounds worthwhile in writing, initiation of the workfare program would only increase government expenses with few positive results. "One-size -fits all" programs are costly and wasteful for the government. As

discussed earlier, rural communities differ from urban, and a workfare program could not possibly work in all populations and all economies. On the other hand, privatization has proven successful. The government should seek new ideas such as this to restructure itself into a government of the 21st century.

The government should help strengthen communities. It should encourage private support by giving block grants to local governments, in turn making community's welfare the decision of the residents. This inner focus encourages co-dependency and a sense of belonging or community. Because the industrialization era is over and we have entered now into the technological era. To revert back to the small-town era would no longer be isolating one's self from the outside world. It would only be encouraging the positive benefits of group socialization and identity.

There are different thoughts about poverty. Some believe that poverty is a result in the lack of jobs, while others think is a a result of the breakdown of family and inappropriate personal behavior (Raspberry, 1994). Both theories may be accurate. Poverty originally began as a lack of jobs, but now is the result of the breakdown of social responsibility. The government needs to reclassify its roles and determine what it can afford then what is really *necessary* to do. It is not until policymakers touch the question of merit that the government can begin to revitalize the system.

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Department
of
Health and Human Services

Calhoun County, West Virginia

Table of Contents: Department of Health and Human Services, Calhoun County, WV.

1. Structure of Local Agency
2. Personal Interviews
 - A.) Mr. Mike Ritchie, Adult Protective Services
 - B.) Mr. Rick Brewer, Children's Protective Services
 - C.) Mr. Arlis Miller, Economic Services
 - D.) Mrs. Terry Harris, Foster Care
 - E.) Mr. Sydney Underwood, Work and Training Unit
 - F.) Mr. Tom Gainer, Retired Employee of Dept. HHS
3. Additional Information
 - A.) Net Income Test for Potential Welfare Recipients
 - B.) Aid and Assistance Chart
 - C.) Low-Income Energy Assistance Program Fact Sheet

Structure of the Department of Health and Human Services in Calhoun County, WV

Adult Protective Services= (Mr. Mike Ritchie)

Elderly= can't care for themselves, place them in nursing homes or with families.

Children's Protective Services =(Mr. Rick Brewer)

Economic Services= (Mr. Arlis Miller, supervisor) AFDC, food stamps, medicaid, handicap children, NEMT (Non emergency medical transportation), trip tickets (bus services for elderly), low energy assistance (heating and electric 3 months of the year.)

Foster Care= (Mrs. Terry Harris) Custody of children, find home, maintaining child, proper support (clothing), and rating the need of the child.

Home Finder= (Mrs. Pam Gainer) Finding foster parents

Work and Training Unit= (Mr. Sydney Underwood) Educational programs, GED, Long-term employment.

Day Care= (Ms. April Skidmore)

Child Advocacy= Delinquent fathers and mothers, child support payments, reimburse state.

Chapter 12: Interviews

Adult Services

(Interview with Mr. Mike Ritchie)

Calhoun County, January 12, 1995

Adult Services is an adult form of foster care. It is care of the mentally disable, socially incapacitated, or developmentally disabled, who are mentally not capable of living and functioning on their own.

Before 1974, the state cared for these adults together in state institutions such as Weston and Spencer Hospitals. In 1974, because there was the belief that everyone has the right to self-determination, the state de-institutionalized the hospitals and began placing these patients in homes. Although these families are not relatives of the patient, they treat the patient like family (i.e. watching television together). The families are paid a small fee by the state to provide food, clothing, and care for the patient. However, in order for a patient to stay with a family, the patient must be capable of sleeping all night, eating, and moving around, so the family may continue with normal daily activities. The patient must live within the same house.

If the patient is too mentally incapacitated to live with a family, he/she is sent to Personal Home Care which is a form of a nursing home with 24 hour care (three shifts). In this institution, the patients are still mobile. In the worst cases in which the patients are not physically capable, they are placed in nursing homes.

The problem of the homeless began around 1974 during the period of institutionalization when the state removed patients from hospitals. Having no

family support, they were given the choice to either participate in the home program or make it on their own. Many took to the streets where they began but soon ran out of money. Eventually, they became homeless. Now, legally the government has no authority to remove them from the streets and place them back into mental institutions unless they threaten or violate the safety of others. The government's position is this is their personal choice of how to live.

In 1974, the changes in the system came from the encouragement of the ACLU and the decision of the government that it should be use the least restrictive means of solving a problem as possible in the care of a mentally disabled patient. Even today this policy still continues. The agency finds households that are the least restrictive for the patient, and it makes frequent visits to assure the patient is fed, bathed, and clothed properly. In the bad cases, the patient is removed from the household and placed elsewhere.

It is the job of the Health and Human Services to place them in the households, evaluate their living arrangements, and assure that they are treated and supported properly. Mentally Ill agencies throughout the state take care of the mental problems.

This new program has its advantages and disadvantages. First, it saves the state an incredible amount of money compared to the previous system of state institutions. The state pays the total of \$458 in social security a month to this individual which in turn goes to the household. Then, the house parents must give \$55 dollars of this to the patient for personal use. The state's Adult Services program considers the cost of care for a mentally incapacitated patient to be \$489. If Social Security pays \$458 and the parents subtract \$55, then \$403 is left by Social Security for personal care. This subtracted from the Adult Services cost of care \$489-\$403= \$86. In the end, the state Adult Services Program is required to supplement

only \$86 dollars a month for the care of these patients. This is a huge saving compared to the cost of maintaining and feeding of state hospitals.

A disadvantage of the system is that because the state only pays \$489 a month and the patient is a mentally disabled adult, it is difficult to find families. In addition, many of the patients wish to return to institutions because they miss the socialization they once had. Institutions had daily activities and friends they could with which they could relate. In the present system, they are often in a home alone except with the family's friends. To alleviate this problem, Calhoun County has begun a craft day at the local city park in which all of these patients get together in the park to socialize and make crafts. This is a privately run program, but because it has been successful, it has drawn attention from the state. The state is considering implementing this program in other counties.

Overall, the system is working well, but more money should be spent to make the program more attractive. Families need additional money to feed, clothe, and care of their patient.

Children's Protective Services

(Interview with Mr. Rick Brewer)

January 11, 1994

Mr. Brewer works with the Children's Protective Services of the Department of Health and Human Services in the town of Grantsville, located in Calhoun County, West Virginia. Mr. Brewer deals mainly with cases of incest, neglect, and child abuse.

Cases of incest

Many cases in Calhoun County concerning child abuse begin by suspicion. Often a teacher suspects abuse in a student by observing actions or comments.

Referrals are made by friends and family members in which the victim has discussed the situation. These referrals seek action from the agency. Mr. Brewer then takes the victim to a physician who specializes in examining children of these cases. The doctor searches and records all evidence such as sperm and blood. Once the evidence is recorded, the agency takes action with the father. The prosecutor takes the molester to court, and in the end, the molester is taken out of the home and the child is sent to foster care.

There is a definite correlation between poverty and incest. Calhoun County has the highest rate of abuse and neglect in the state of West Virginia. And is one of the highest in unemployment. Approximately 75-80 percent of the child molesters are uneducated. Usually they have finished the ninth grade or less. Most have not graduated from high school. The high rate of child abuse is a result of a depressed environment, no transportation, and little interaction with the outside community. Many are isolated with their families. For many, this is a method of entertainment. They have a poor image of themselves and of their family life. Therefore, because they have little respect for their family life, they are more likely to abuse it.

Calhoun County's high rate of child abuse is probably no higher than other counties in rural states. However, they have a higher recorded rate because they have an aggressive social worker, prosecutor, and judge who take a tough stance against child abuse. They have succeeded in prosecuting many molesters.

Mr. Brewer has seen some extremely filthy and decrepit homes. He has seen cases of roach infested homes (i.e. children sleep on the floors with insects, food contaminated by roaches), chickens and dead animals in and around home, and cases where children were fed dog food.

When the agency first takes action to remove the child from their natural parents, at first the child is upset. They have not known any other life, and

although conditions are terrible in their home, they still do not want to leave. However, once the child has been in their foster home, in many cases the children do not want to go back. The agency sends children back to their first home when the natural parents have shown some effort to improve even is minimal. No law prohibits a child from growing up in poverty; therefore, the agency can send a child from a foster home back to a life of poverty. This does nothing to break the cycle of poverty because children learn by observation; therefore, they pick up the attitudes, habits, and actions of their parents and many of these parents exhibit laziness, low ambition, alcoholism, abusiveness, and depression.

With the controversy over foster homes, Mr. Brewer thinks that orphanages could be an improvement over the present system because they would be providing a stable environment for the children. He believes this would only be helpful if it resembles a home, with a limited number of children (approximately three), and positive and supportive houseparents. He claims the homes must give residents a sense of belonging, bonding, nurturing, love, and caring. Although critics complain that this would cost more money than the current system, in the long run, if successful, it would help to break the cycle of poverty hopefully decreasing the cost of the system.

Mr. Brewer believes family caps are unnecessary. He does not foresee this as a problem. He says the current system provides little monetary benefit for more children. The only incentive would be more food stamps, but the monetary limit is \$360. The average family limit is three.

Economic Services

(Interview with Mr. Arlis Miller)

Calhoun County, January 12, 1995

I. Food Stamps= Three basic programs exist

- 1.) basic food stamps= food for rural areas
- 2.) WICK= for mothers and children under five
- 3.) Free Lunch Program= for children in schools, free lunch and breakfast.

A family of four would receive approximately \$200 dollars in food stamps. In addition, if they had a child under five, they would be eligible for the WICK program. If they have children in school, the children are eligible for the free meals. In turn, there is overlapping of the services or a "black market." Many families are getting more than they need while others are not getting enough. The federal level does not easily see these problems, but the local level does clearly. Mr. Miller suggests combining all three services into one agency in which they can monitor to assure that some families do not overload while others are left out.

II. Aid to Families with Dependent Children

WV has the lowest paying AFDC in the country. The lowest granted is \$149 dollars for one person. The highest is \$477. Once a family is of the size eight, it will not receive additional AFDC funds for more children. The needs are determined by the amount of income the father receives. The highest amount is paid to single mothers with children.

The average length of time on welfare is 18 months to 2 years. In Calhoun County, there are recipients who have been on since 1935. Most of the recipients are reoccurring. They get off welfare, then come back.

Time limited welfare proposals have been attempted, but the courts have said “no.” Mr. Miller believes the best method is to enforce mandatory job training, such as workfare. He believes the recipient should be responsible for performing community services such as painting a school and working in the library. Young children would be left in day care. He believes education is the key to breaking the cycle of poverty.

As long as one is on welfare, they should not have any other children. However, Mr. Miller believes the government cannot force them family caps. He believes parents should have training in child development and home health.

If he were to change the system, Mr. Miller would make every recipient independent of government regulations by providing a cash amount instead of food stamps and etc. He believes that with this, the recipients would be forced to manage and budget their money themselves. He says the government should offer budgeting courses. To save money, the government should eliminate middle policymakers who make the regulations. He believes the regulations provide too much difficulty and confusion. He states the new computer system should help. WV is the one of the last states to receive this computer system. Once the cash amount is received, Mr. Miller claims there will be a culture shock and an adjustment period. Many recipients are unmotivated and very mobile. They often pick up and move within one day. In the long run, Mr. Miller believes the benefits would outweigh the disadvantages.

Mr. Miller says the rural are on welfare longer than the urban because of lack of education and opportunity. WV's high poverty rate is a result of the lack of economy.

He says the federal government plays a large role in his work. He believes the government often gets carried away with regulation writing. The computer systems have been revolutionized to benefit the welfare system, but WV is not computerized yet. Hopefully, it will be in the future.

Foster Care

(Interview with Mrs. Terry Harris)

Calhoun County, January 12, 1995

It is the responsibility of Child Protection Services to handle placements and court work, while it is Foster Care's responsibility to supervise visits with parents and assure the well-being of the foster children.

The government removes children from families and places them in individual homes or specialized homes. First, the child is found a foster home. If a home cannot be found immediately, they are placed in emergency shelters such as the Genesis Home. The length of stay here is approximately eight to ten days, but no more than thirty. Then they are placed with families until they are removed or they have reached of age to become independent. If the child does not do well in the foster home, he/she is placed in group homes where six to eight children live together in a house with parents.

The Foster Care program does everything possible to keep siblings together. The state now requires a form to be filled justifying why siblings are separated in certain cases. In addition, a court order is needed to separate legally. After eighteen months, if the natural parents have been parentally terminated from their children, the foster family can adopt. Before adoption however, the state cannot remove a child from the foster parents unless he/she is sent back to the natural parents.

Children, depending on age, have a small say with whom they live. In many cases, although it is unhealthy for them, many children want to return to their natural parents.

When the child has reached the age eighteen, he/she can leave foster care. However, the state can support the foster child until the age of twenty-one, including a college education. If the family chooses to adopt, the state will pay subsidized adoption. This helps to pay the \$500 fee for adoption, insurance, and medical card. This ends at the age of eighteen.

The federal government has a small role in the Foster Care Services. The office must fill out federal forms regarding the parents of the child and is must include the court order stating this is in the best interests of the child. In some cases, the child is eligible for federal funds called the 4-E funds. In these cases, if the child is 4-E eligible, foster care is often reimbursed.

On the whole, foster care is beneficial in breaking the cycle of poverty. In some cases, the children do return to their natural families, and in other cases, children drop out of high school and leave their foster families early. However, fortunately, there have been successful cases in which foster children have grown of age, finished college with excellent grades, and succeeded in their work. Overall, the system works well.

Family caps- nothing wrong with it. Foster care would be better than orphanages.

Work and Training Unit

(Interview with Mr. Sydney Underwood)

Calhoun County, January 25, 1995

Two basic programs:

1. CWEP= Community Work Experience Program

This approximately ten year program began under the Reagan administration as a form of workfare. If a man can work, the office places him with a sponsor to work off his welfare check. Community sponsors are mainly non-profit organizations such as the City of Grantsville, Dept. of Highways, County Commissioner, County and City Parks, and the Board of Education. They work for \$4.25 an hour until they work out check.

Example: man with wife and two children. Receives \$312 dollars a month. He will have to work 73 hours which is nine days a month.

In addition, he will receive transportation allowance depending on distance and number of hours. The office assists in job placement in an attempt to find the closest job (approximately eight to ten miles).

Mr. Underwood feels this is a good program, and recipients like it because they do not feel like they are getting as much charity. Usually the contract is for nine months. Then, the recipient must sit out for additional three months before they can work again. Some have even been hired by their employees.

2. Transition Classes= two classes a year for 4 1/2 weeks. This program provides job preparation courses for AFDC mothers and some fathers. The time is devoted to creative writing, special talents, resume writing, guest speakers (nutrition, budgeting, beauty schools) in an effort to teach participants how to dress,

speak, talk, have confidence, interview. For example, they do role playing or know your government day (tour of the court house). On the last day of class, the office holds interviews to talk to people about where they want to go.

This new program is approximately five years old. The classes are small (10-12 students), and they are mandatory for those almost ready to enter the work force.

When one first requests welfare benefits, Mr. Underwood first sends a letter explaining his program. If this remains unanswered, he issues a second letter of warning stating he will reduce benefits if the recipient does not appear. Once in his office, Mr. Underwood talks about what is expected. They discuss education, work history, interests, and other extraordinary circumstances, GED programs, and the day care system. Once a recipient has GED, they talk about colleges and job training. If a recipient is unwilling to agree and participate, then Mr. Underwood will implement sanctions. This reduces the amount of money the recipient can receive for three months, while the old system would just eliminate all benefits. This motivates many to work, but can also be harsh on the families of non-workers. Many children go hungry.

The Job Search Program is program rarely used. This program consisted of a form given to each participant requiring interviews with twelve employers before receiving aid. Mr. Underwood found this system impersonal system and easy to cheat.

Enforcing participation in these programs is difficult because there is such a wide range of people and personalities. Some are the hard-working unfortunate and others are the lazy and unmotivated. Mr. Underwood encourages his clients to finish high school and go to college. Then, he will help pay for college. In addition, Mr. Underwood works with others on skills training (vocational training such as nurses aid)- often up to five years. Attitude of each recipient varies. Some are hard to motivate. But many have basically poor esteem and self confidence. Some are

unwilling to do anything (built in resistance), others want to work. Sometimes others fail despite efforts. Mr. Underwood succeeds in getting forty percent of his cases to do something.

Calhoun County recipients face problems of isolation, little transportation, don't drive, few job skills, and no economy for jobs. Only way to reform welfare is to get people off, but this is difficult when there are no jobs out there. In addition, much of the SSI funding goes to drug and alcohol addicts or HIV positive. A lot is wrong with today's system, but there is also a lot of good.

To reform the system, Mr. Underwood recommends the state provide employer incentives. He believes the state could give employers tax deductions for hiring welfare recipients. One half of salary could be funded by state, then after two years, take as full time employee. In 1980-1985, many went to work when they lost their benefits under the old "work or leave" system. However, the economy was also better during this period. He fears a two year limit might cause mass migration from one state to another.

Overall, Mr. Underwood feels the current system is more personable and more "in touch" with the people. He says they are very flexible and provide transportation, uniforms, and tools to assist their clients. He said originally, the system was just a check with no personal contact. Mr. Underwood claims his program is a building process and is doing well.

Outside the System

(Interview with Mr. Tom Gainer)

Calhoun County, January 24, 1994

Mr. Gainer is a retired employee of the Department of Health and Human Services. He worked for HHS in Calhoun County for approximately thirty years.

Mr. Gainer feels the current welfare system that herds its people "like cattle." These people are controlled by the voters and politicians. He feels there has been no real honest effort made. The government is too large and bureaucratic.

When he was an employees of the HHS, they implemented a workfare program in 1964 called the WIN and the Emergency Employment Program. Under the WIN program, women had to work once their child reached the age of five. Under the Emergency Employment Program, men worked for \$1.00 p/hr and were paid by the state at the end of the month depending on the number of hours they worked. They could work a maximum of 165 hours a month. He claims the men really participated in this. In addition to this, they support a program in which adults were forced to go to school. He remembers one clients improving from barely reading to 7-8th grade level in nine months. Eventually this client got a job.

Parents don't have extra children to increase grants. Families are not as large as they use to be. Any additional children is sometimes contributed to lack of knowledge about birth control. Birth control not much of a controversy here and it be reached through planned parenthood.

Through all the years Mr. Gainer worked, most clients did not have a high school degree and only one was a veteran. He personally believes education and discipline, such as that of the military, makes a difference.

When the state started a mandatory working program, they were placing everyone with work as soon as they walked into the door. He said that the number of cases declined as the work spread that they would have to work for their pay. This served as a deterrent from the system. Eventually, caseloads went down enough that the government decided to lay off social service workers. In the end, they couldn't prove that these people weren't coming because of the mandatory work, so they eliminated the system.

Time-limited welfare worked in our state, but the administration changed and the program was dropped.

Federal government often gives checks before the recipients have worked. In many cases, some clients have never worked. They are used to the steady inflow of cash and its security, and they do not want to leave the system. Mr. Gainer believes, "Welfare should be a privilege and a right. And you should do what you're instructed to do to get it."

Community service at minimum wage should be required. But Unions fight this because it often takes work away from them (ex. trash collectors). Mr. Gainer feels the poor in WV have more opportunities than those in large cities. They have a house, free utilities, low income, place to raise or grow food, farm, old vehicles, and isolation from gang violence and crime. Family life might be stronger. One half of all recipients are single mothers, and one half are families, but before the system included fathers, many mothers pretended to be single while the fathers hid in the back field.

Disabilities in clients are hard to prove. There is a tendency to overexaggerate to receive funds.

School program implemented previously forced recipients to go back to school. 160 returned to school and after the first two months, 20 percent dropped

out saying they don't like school, never did like school, and that they would rather have a job than go to school.

In conclusion, the cycle of poverty continues, and it is often controlled by nature rather than nurture. He has seen families where all the children grew up and never went on the system themselves. He has seen other situations where some children move on while others go on welfare. He says there are continuous recipients who live on the system for years and for many of those, it is just nature.

Case Name: _____

Case Number: _____

Date Completed: _____

West Virginia Division of Human Services

Food Stamp Need Computations

Gross Income Test

Step 1: _____ Family Size

Step 2: _____ Total Gross Earned Income

Step 3: + _____ Total Gross Unearned Income

Step 4: _____ Total Income

Step 5: _____ Maximum Gross Income

Step 6: - _____ Total Income (From Step 4)

Step 7: _____ Difference. If resulting figure is a negative number, eligibility must be denied. If it is "0" or greater, further calculations are performed.

Eligible

Not Eligible

(Circle One)

(Continued on Other Side)

Net Income Test

Size of Benefit Group _____ Net Income Limit _____

Step 1: _____ Total Gross Earned Income

1a: X .80 20% Earned Income Disregard Computed by Using 80% of Earnings

1b: _____ Countable Earned Income

Step 2: + _____ Unearned Income

Step 3: _____ Total Income Carried Forward

Step 4: - _____ Excess Medical Expenses/CWEP Deduction. Only elderly or disabled may deduct medical expenses over \$35.

Step 5: _____ Difference. Amount carried forward

Step 6: - _____ Standard Deduction

Step 7: _____ Difference. Amount carried forward

Step 8: - _____ Dependent Care Deduction. Maximum allowable deduction is \$160 per dependent

Step 9: _____ Difference. Amount carried forward

Step 10: - _____ Shelter Deduction

10a. Total Shelter/Utility Expenses _____

10b. Amount carried forward from
Step 9 _____ divided by 2 = _____

10c. Difference. If result is 0 or a negative number, no deduction is allowed.

10d. Maximum Applies (Circle One) Maximum Does Not Apply

Step 11: _____ Net Income

Step 12: Eligible To Proceed Not Eligible (Circle One)

Step 13: _____ Coupon Allotment Entitlement

Step 14: - _____ Repayment Amount

Step 15: _____ Coupon Allotment

Step 16: _____ Prorated Coupon Allotment, Prorated From

Worker's Signature _____

FOOD STAMPS				AFDC			MEDICAID		POVERTY LEVEL 10/01/83			EA	LIEAP
# in HH	Max PS "O" \$	Gross Max	Net Max	Eld Disab	Schd A	Schd B	Schd C	One Month	Six Months	FW/CC 150%	Y1 13%	Y3 100%	Max Gross
1	115	798	614	1012	149	581	1075	200	1200	920	816	614	355
2	212	1066	820	1353	201	786	1454	275	1650	1230	1091	820	533
3	304	1335	1027	1694	253	991	1833	290	1740	1540	1366	1027	566
4	386	1604	1234	2035	312	1196	2212	312	1872	1850	1641	1234	711
5	459	1872	1440	2376	360	1401	2592	360	2160	2160	1916	1440	819
6	550	2141	1647	2717	413	1606	2971	413	2478	2470	2191	1647	939
7	608	2410	1854	3058	462	1811	3350	461	2766	2780	2465	1854	1046
8	695	2678	2060	3399	477	2016	3729	477	2862	3090	2740	2060	1165

each

Add'l 87
add

269

207

341

PS Standard Deduction

134

PS Shelter/Utility Cap

231

PS Utility Allowance

207

Homeless Household

139

net income

QMB

single 614

couple 820

cc - under 1 year

Y1 - 1 to under 5

Y3 - 6 to under 19

SSI Max.

Single 446

Couple 669

SS/SSI Max.

466

689

AS OF 10/01/94

Max PS	0	Net	Eld Disab

FACT SHEET

1995 LOW-INCOME ENERGY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

West Virginia Department of Health and Human Resources
Bureau of Human Resources
Office of Income Maintenance

The 1995 West Virginia Low-Income Energy Assistance Program (LIEAP) will be administered by the Bureau of Human Resources. The intent of this program is to help low-income households in meeting the rising costs of home heating by providing assistance with the payment of heating bills during the 1995 heating season. The intent of this program is not to pay the entire winter heating cost of eligible persons. Therefore, you are urged to make every effort to pay your energy bills each month.

Program Duration

The regular LIEAP component of the program will begin no earlier than December 1, 1994 when applications will be accepted and will end March 1, 1995 unless funds are exhausted at an earlier date. In the event funds are exhausted prior to March 1, 1995, the regular LIEAP component will automatically end on the date funds are deemed exhausted. The emergency LIEAP component will begin when regular LIEAP intake is stopped.

Eligibility Requirements

In order to be eligible for energy assistance, an individual must have home heating costs and the total gross monthly income of the benefit group must fall within the eligibility guidelines of the program. In addition, an individual must be vulnerable to the cost of home heating.

The maximum allowable income levels are listed below:

HOUSEHOLD SIZE	MONTHLY ALLOWABLE INCOME	HOUSEHOLD SIZE	MONTHLY ALLOWABLE INCOME
1 Person Household	\$ 675	11 Person Household	\$ 2,948
2 Person Household	902	12 Person Household	3,176
3 Person Household	1,130	13 Person Household	3,403
4 Person Household	1,357	14 Person Household	3,630
5 Person Household	1,584	15 Person Household	3,858
6 Person Household	1,812	16 Person Household	4,085
7 Person Household	2,039	17 Person Household	4,312
8 Person Household	2,266	18 Person Household	4,540
9 Person Household	2,494	19 Person Household	4,767
10 Person Household	2,721	20 Person Household	4,994

Where To Apply

Individuals may apply for energy assistance at the local Community Action Agencies, Senior Citizen Centers, or Department of Health and Human Resources offices. However, the final decision regarding eligibility will be made by the Bureau of Human Resources.

Application Procedures

The following items are needed at the time of application:

1. Social Security Number
2. When any member of the household is employed, all household income must be verified. (Example of verification: check stubs, award letters, etc.)
3. If you report no or "zero" income on the application form, you must verify (1) that you have no income. (2) how you have paid for your living expenses at least 30 days prior to the date of application and (3) that you have home heating costs. Verification can be in the form of written, signed and dated statements or certain documents that can verify your situation.
4. The account number of your home heating bill.
5. You may be asked to verify any information on your application in order to determine your eligibility.

Emergency LIEAP

Individuals who are without home heating may qualify for emergency LIEAP assistance. However, all applicants for emergency LIEAP must be found eligible for regular LIEAP first. Persons who wish to apply for emergency LIEAP are to contact their local Human Services office. Applications will be accepted effective when regular LIEAP intake stops.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THE LOW-INCOME ENERGY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM OR TO OBTAIN AN APPLICATION, CONTACT YOUR LOCAL DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN RESOURCES, COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY OR SENIOR CITIZEN CENTER IN YOUR AREA OR CALL THIS TOLL FREE NUMBER: 1-800-642-8589.

Supporting Data and Statistics

The following chapter is supporting data and statistics gathered through independent research and interviews.

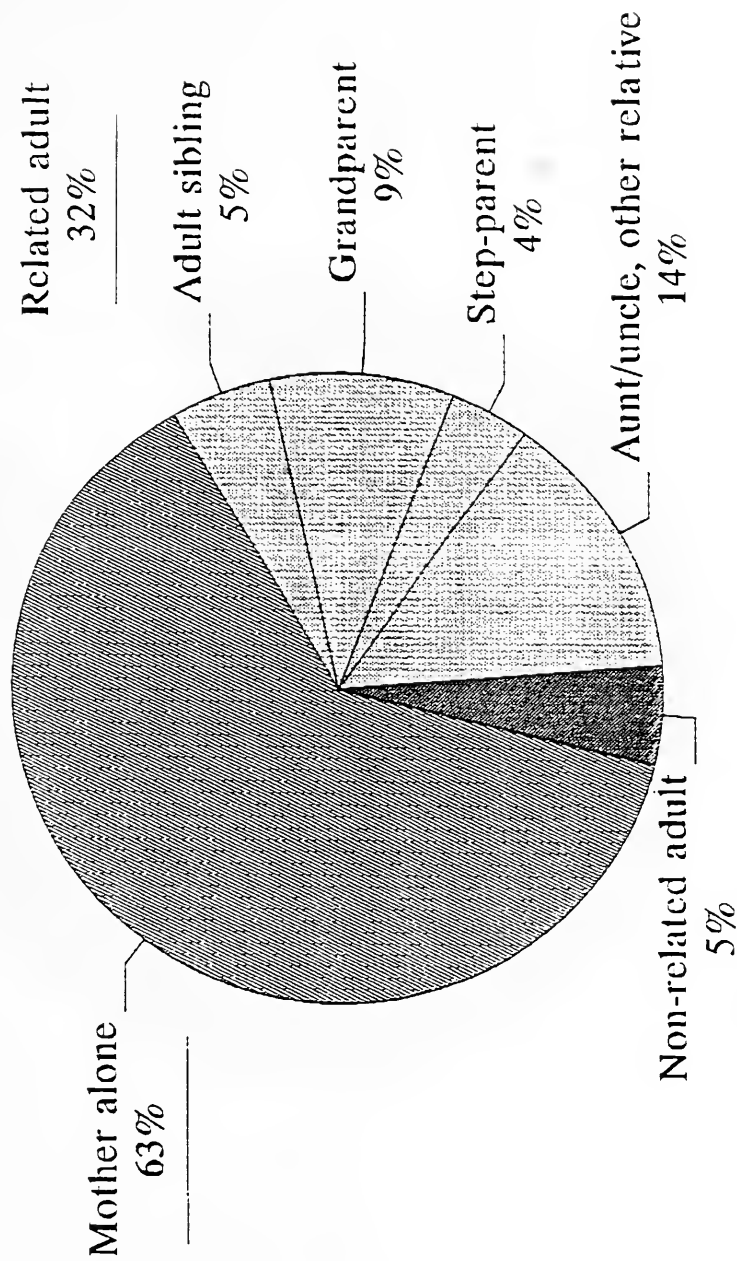
Table of Contents: Supporting Data

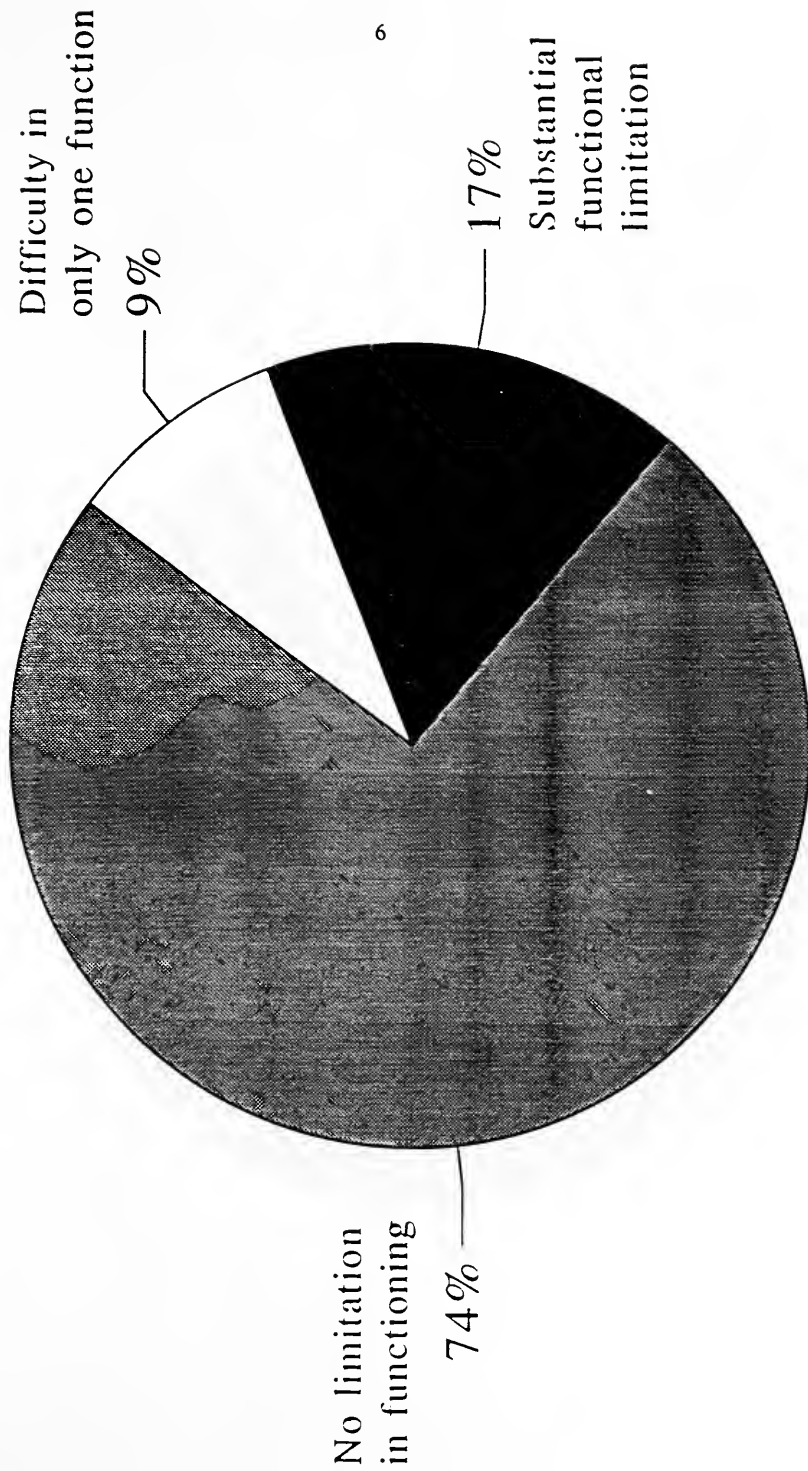
1. American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
2. Congressional Research Service
3. Jobs Program Survey Results
4. General Accounting Office: Report to House of Representatives

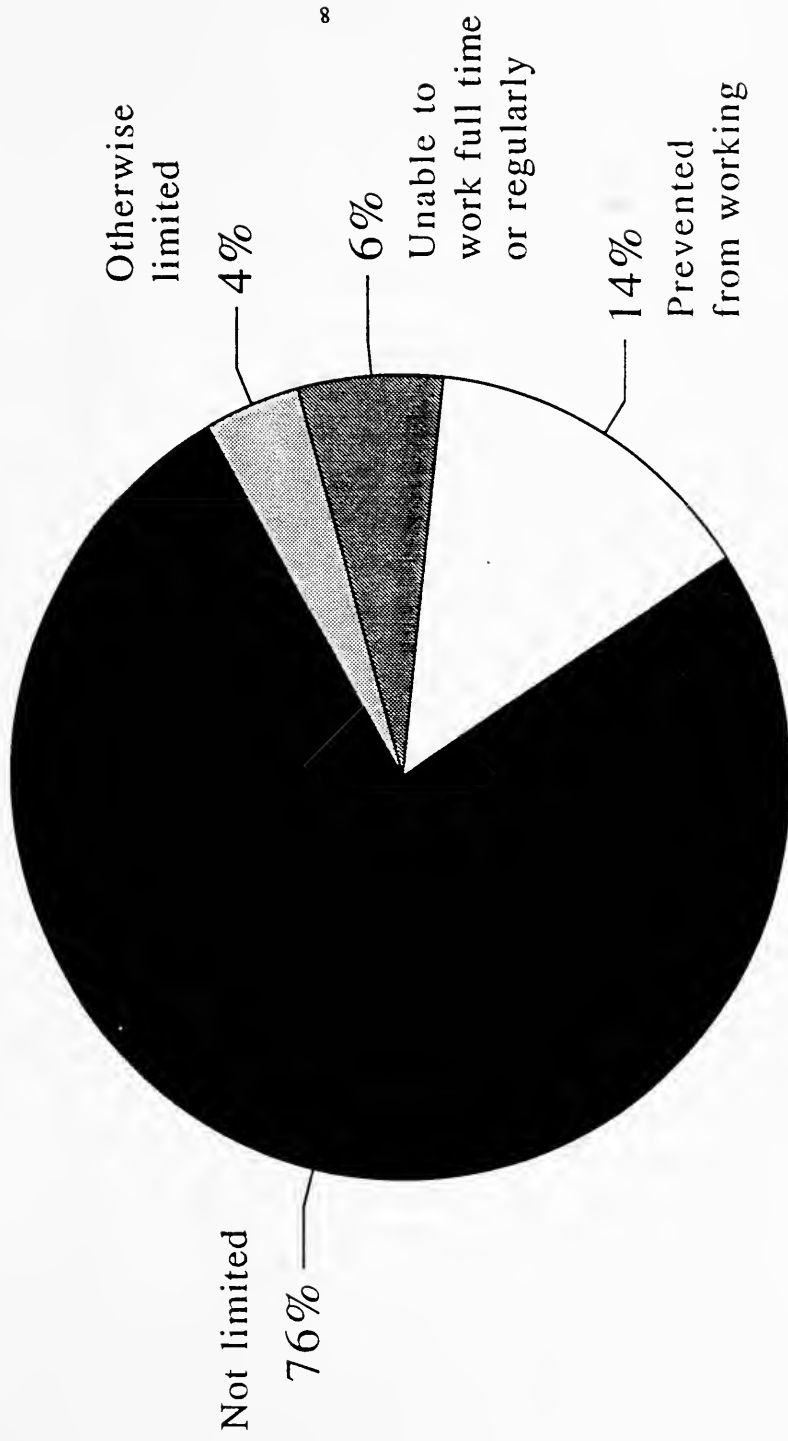
American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

The following is statistical information and data provided by the American Enterprise institute for Public Policy Research. This information was gathered at a conference entitled "Linking Welfare To Work" held on December 15, 1993 in Washington, DC. Confirmed attendees included a variety of members from both the private and public sectors.

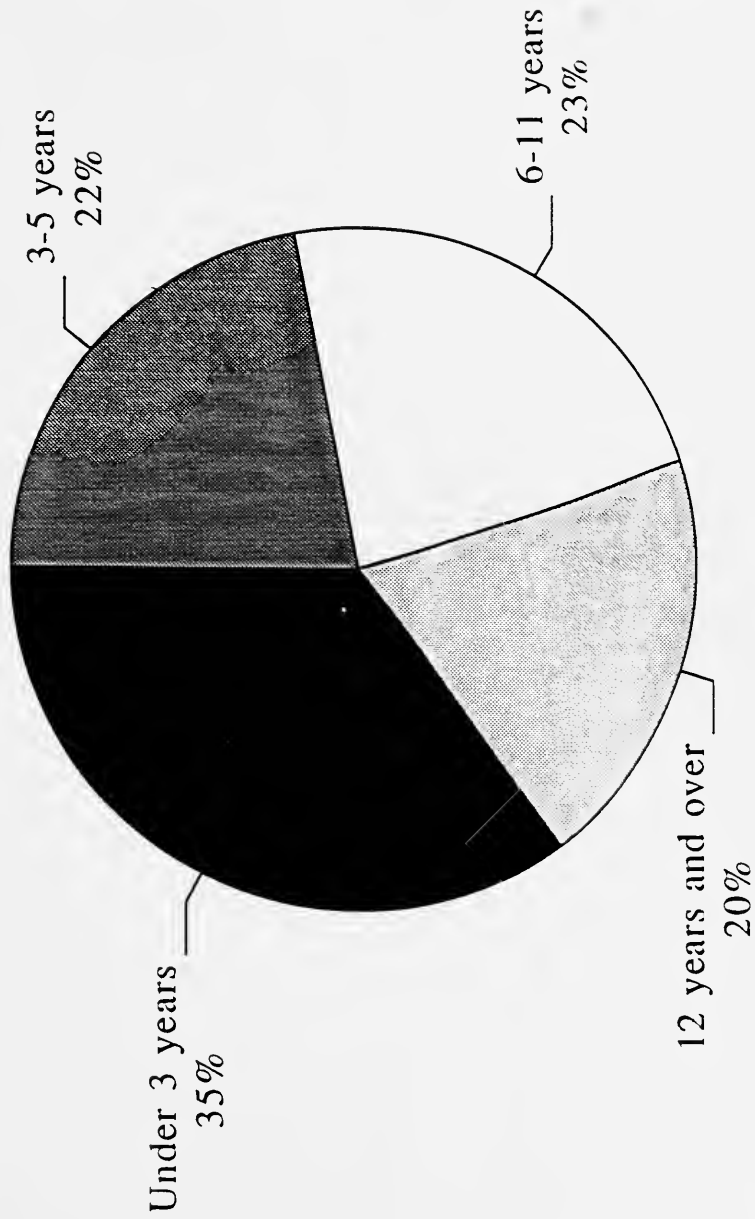
Household Composition of AFDC Families in 1989, by Presence of Adults in Household







Age of Youngest Child in AFDC Families in 1989

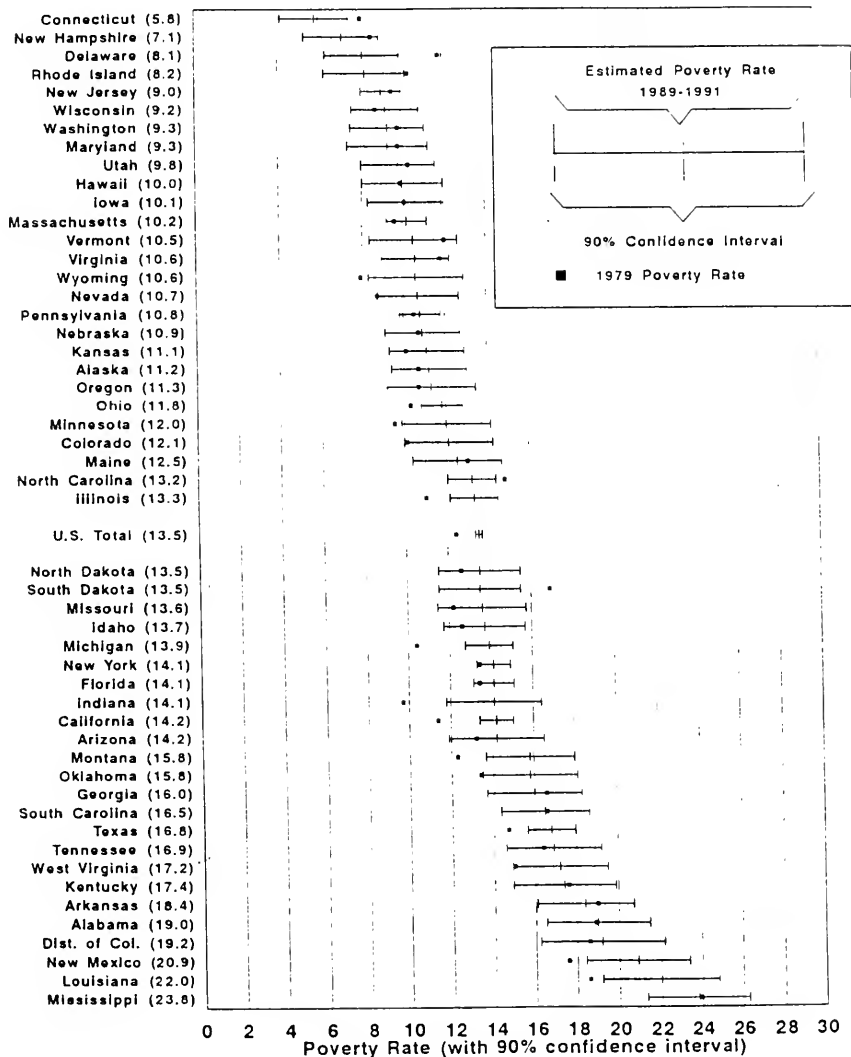


Congressional Research Service

- 1.) Gabe, Thomas. "Recent Statistics on Poverty in the United States: 1991." Congressional Research Service Report to Congress. Washington, DC: September 9, 1992.
- 2.) Gabe, Thomas. "Trends in Poverty in the U.S: A Fact Sheet." Congressional Research Service Report to Congress. Washington, DC: November 17, 1992.

**FIGURE 1. Three Year Average Poverty Rate for Persons, by State
(1989-1991)**

State (poverty rate)



Source: Prepared by the Congressional Research Service.

The **poverty rate** is the estimated percentage of the national population living alone or in families whose money income is below the poverty threshold. According to the *official definition* of poverty, the poverty rate was 14.2 percent in 1991. Under an *alternate definition* of poverty, which includes the value of noncash benefits and includes the effect of taxes, an estimated 11.4 percent of the population would be considered poor. Under either definition, the poverty rate increased this past year.

HISTORICAL TREND IN POVERTY RATES

The historical trends in selected poverty rates, from 1959 to 1991, are shown in table 1. The table shows that, until 1990, the poverty rate had been dropping from its most recent high of 15.2 percent, in 1983. The poverty rate remains well above its historic low of 11.1 percent, reached in 1973.

TABLE 1. Poverty Rates for Selected Groups, 1959-1991 (%)

CY	Total pop.	Related children under age 18				Persons age 18-64	Persons age 65+	All ages		
		Persons under age 18	Total	Female-headed families	All other families			White	Black	Hispanic
1991	14.2	21.8	21.1	55.5	11.1	11.4	12.4	11.3	32.7	28.7
1990	13.5	20.6	19.9	53.4	10.7	10.7	12.2	10.7	31.9	28.1
1989	12.8	19.6	19.0	51.1	10.4	10.2	11.4	10.0	30.7	26.2
1988	13.0	19.5	19.0	52.9	10.0	10.5	12.0	10.1	31.3	26.7
1987	13.4	20.3	19.7	54.7	10.9	10.6	12.5	10.4	32.4	28.0
1986	13.6	20.5	19.8	54.4	10.8	10.8	12.4	11.0	31.1	27.3
1985	14.0	20.7	20.1	53.6	11.7	11.3	12.6	11.4	31.3	29.0
1984	14.4	21.5	21.0	54.0	12.5	11.7	12.4	11.5	33.8	28.4
1983	15.2	22.3	21.8	55.5	13.5	12.4	13.8	12.2	35.7	28.1
1982	15.0	21.9	21.3	56.0	13.0	12.0	14.6	12.0	35.6	29.9
1981	14.0	20.0	19.5	52.3	11.6	11.1	15.3	11.1	34.2	26.5
1980	13.0	18.3	17.9	50.8	10.4	10.1	15.7	10.2	32.5	25.7
1979	11.7	16.4	16.0	48.6	8.5	8.9	15.2	9.0	31.0	21.8
1978	11.4	15.9	15.7	50.6	7.9	8.7	14.0	8.7	30.6	21.6
1977	11.6	16.2	16.0	50.3	8.5	8.8	14.1	8.9	31.3	22.4
1976	11.8	16.0	15.8	52.0	8.5	9.0	15.0	9.1	31.1	24.7
1975	12.3	17.1	16.8	52.7	9.8	9.2	15.3	9.7	31.3	26.9
1974	11.2	15.4	15.1	51.5	8.3	8.3	14.6	8.6	30.3	23.0
1973	11.1	14.4	14.2	52.1	7.6	8.3	16.3	8.4	31.4	21.9
1972	11.9	15.1	14.9	53.1	8.6	8.8	18.6	9.0	33.3	n/a
1971	12.5	15.3	15.1	53.1	9.3	9.3	21.6	9.9	32.5	n/a
1970	12.6	15.1	14.9	53.0	9.2	9.0	24.5	9.9	33.5	n/a
1965	17.3	21.0	20.7	64.2	15.7	n/a	n/a	13.3	n/a	n/a
1959	22.4	27.3	26.9	72.2	22.4	17.0	35.2	18.1	55.1	n/a

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Current Population Reports*. Series P-60, no. 168, 130, and 175. Also, U.S. Bureau of the Census Press Briefing Package (Sept. 3, 1992). Related children are children in primary families beginning in 1979. Before 1979, children in unrelated subfamilies are included as related children.

Jobs Program Survey Results

by Goodwill Industries International, Inc.

**Michael R. Gaul
Director of Government Affairs
9200 Wisconsin Avenue
Bethesda, Maryland 20814**

JOBS PROGRAMS SURVEY RESULTS

August 18, 1993

Goodwills' participation in JOBS programs has quadrupled since 1989. It has grown by 400 percent. The seventeen Goodwills participating in JOBS programs in 1992 were:

Akron	Grand Island	Milwaukee	Richmond
Buffalo	Huntington	New Orleans	Sioux City
Cleveland	Indianapolis	New York	Toledo
Colorado Springs	Menasha	Omaha	Winston-Salem
Eugene			

The total number of clients served has grown by 268 percent since 1989. Funding has grown even more dramatically. Total funding received has grown by 713 percent since 1989.

Year	Clients	Perc. Change	Funding	Perc. Change	Funding Per Client
1989	2,398	NA	\$ 757,680	NA	\$315.96
1990	5,859	144 %	\$5,021,678	563 %	\$857.09
1991	7,666	31 %	\$5,428,049	8 %	\$708.07
1992	8,815	15 %	\$6,159,854	13 %	\$698.79

The remaining data summarize JOBS program activity for 1992 only. Nearly two of every three referrals were effective. One of every four clients served was placed in competitive employment. Nine of every ten clients placed retained employment per state JOBS requirements. Fifteen percent of all clients served completed high school or obtained their GED.

Referrals	10,202
Effective Referrals	6,532
Placed in Competitive Employment	2,180
Retained Employment	1,972
Average Hourly Wage at Placement	\$5.42
Average Hours Worked per Week	34.4
Completed High School or Obtained GED	1,311

The typical profile of a JOBS client is a white, non-Hispanic female between the ages of 25 and 34.

Race	Number	Percent
White	4,033	45.8
Black	2,980	33.8
American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut	16	0.2
Asian or Pacific Islander	41	0.5
Other	1,745	19.8

Gender	Number	Percent
Male	2,152	24.4
Female	6,663	75.6

Ethnic Group	Number	Percent
Hispanic	1,599	18.1

Age	Number	Percent
Under 17	21	.2
17 to 24	2,572	29.2
25 to 34	3,762	42.7
35 to 44	2,114	24.0
45 to 54	308	3.5
55+	38	.4

The majority of Goodwills provide these services: evaluation, training, job seeking skills, follow-up, counseling, placement, and case management to their JOBS clients. The most frequent service received by clients was casement management--two of every three clients received this service. Less common services provided were transportation and child care.

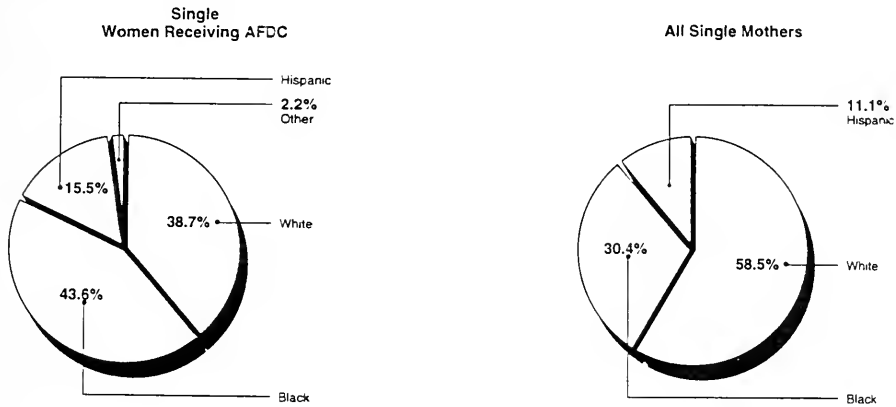
Service	Percent Providing	Clients Receiving
Counseling	66.7	2,112
Evaluation	86.7	4,103
Case Management	60.0	6,037
Training	80.0	2,563
Job Seeking Skills	80.0	2,706
Placement	66.7	2,123
Follow-up	80.0	3,196
Transportation	26.7	1,884
Child Care	33.3	2,401
Remedial Education	40.0	916

Report to the Chairman,
Subcommittee on Human Resources,
Committee on Ways and Means,
House of Representatives

"Families on Welfare: Sharp Rise in Never-Married Women Reflects Societal Trend"

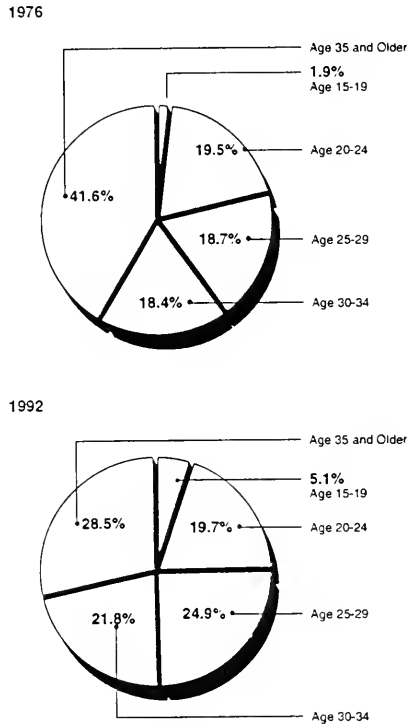
United States General Accounting Office
May, 1994

Figure I.4: Racial Composition of Single Women Receiving AFDC and of All Single Mothers (CPS, 1992)



Source: CPS.

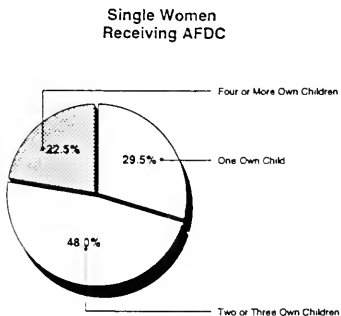
Figure I.5: Age Composition of Single
Women Receiving AFDC (CPS, 1976
and 1992)



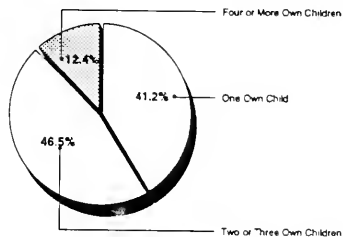
Source: CPS.

Figure I.7: Number of Own Children Less Than 18 Years Old Among Families Headed by Single Women Receiving AFDC and Among Families Headed by All Single Mothers (CPS, 1976 and 1992)

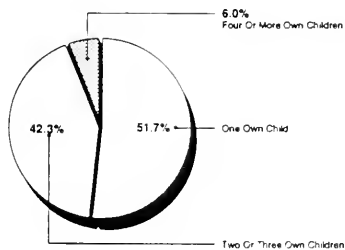
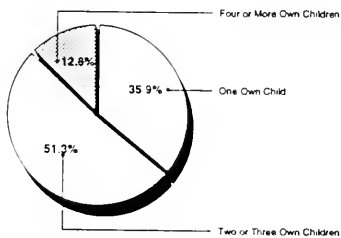
1976



All Single Mothers

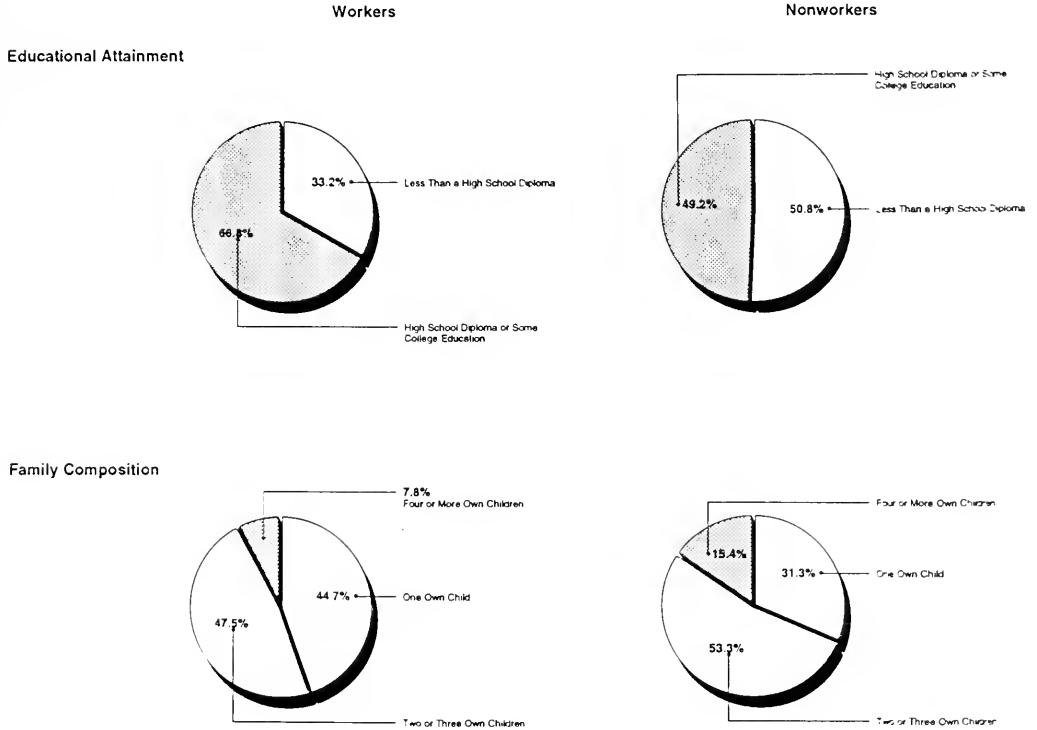


1992



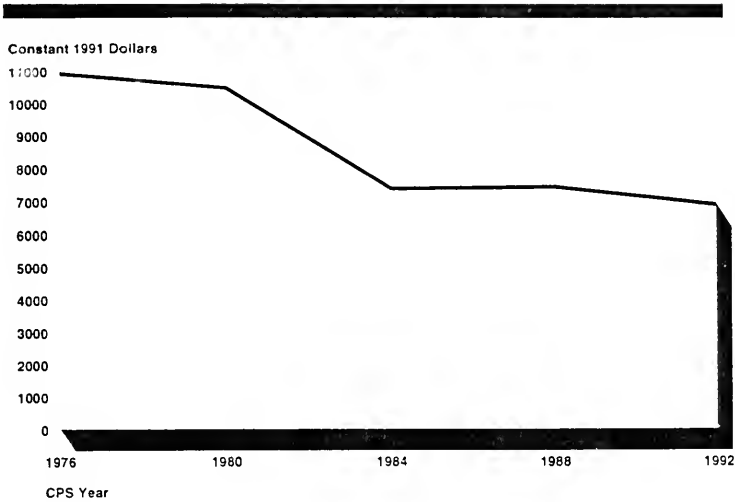
Source: CPS.

Figure I.9: Characteristics of Women Receiving AFDC Who Worked and Those Who Did Not Work (CPS, 1992)



Source: CPS.

Figure I.11: Average Total Family
Income for Single Women Receiving
AFDC (CPS, 1976-92)



Source: CPS.

(Constant 1991 Dollars)

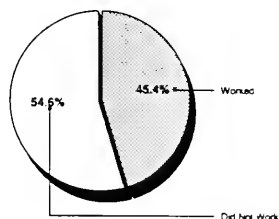
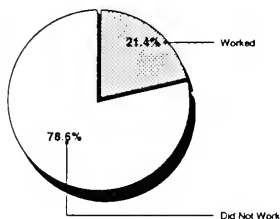
CPS Year	
1976	10916
1980	10455
1984	7367
1988	7414
1992	6865

Figure I.13: Characteristics of Women Receiving AFDC With Total Family Incomes Above and Below 50 Percent of the Poverty Line (CPS, 1976-92)

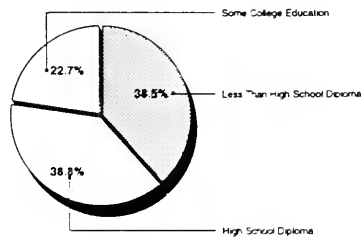
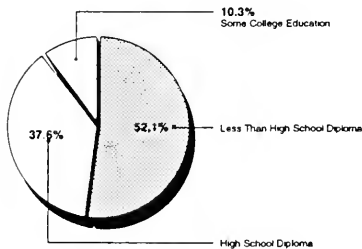
Below 50 Percent
of the Poverty Line

Above 50 Percent
of the Poverty Line

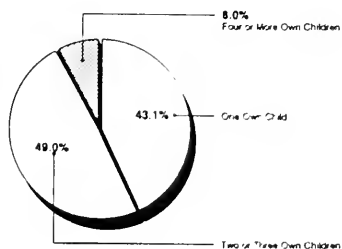
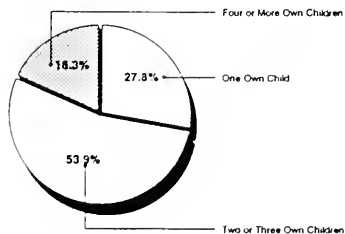
Work Status



Education

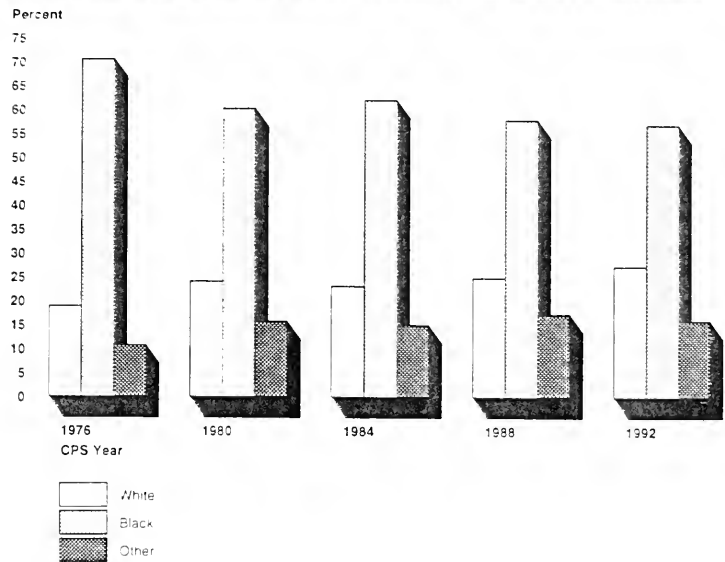


Family Composition



Source: CPS.

Figure II.2: Racial Composition of
Never-Married Women Receiving
AFDC (CPS, 1976-92)



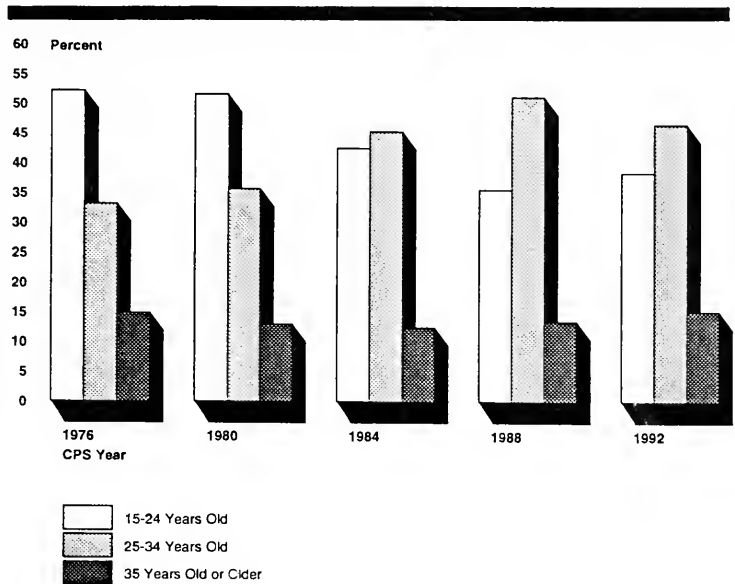
Source: CPS

(Percent)

CPS Year	White	Black	Other
1976	18.3	70.5	10.7
1980	24.0	60.2	15.7
1984	23.0	62.0	15.0
1988	24.8	57.9	17.3
1992	27.2	56.9	15.9

Source: CPS

Figure II.4: Age Composition of
Never-Married Women Receiving
AFDC (CPS, 1976-92)



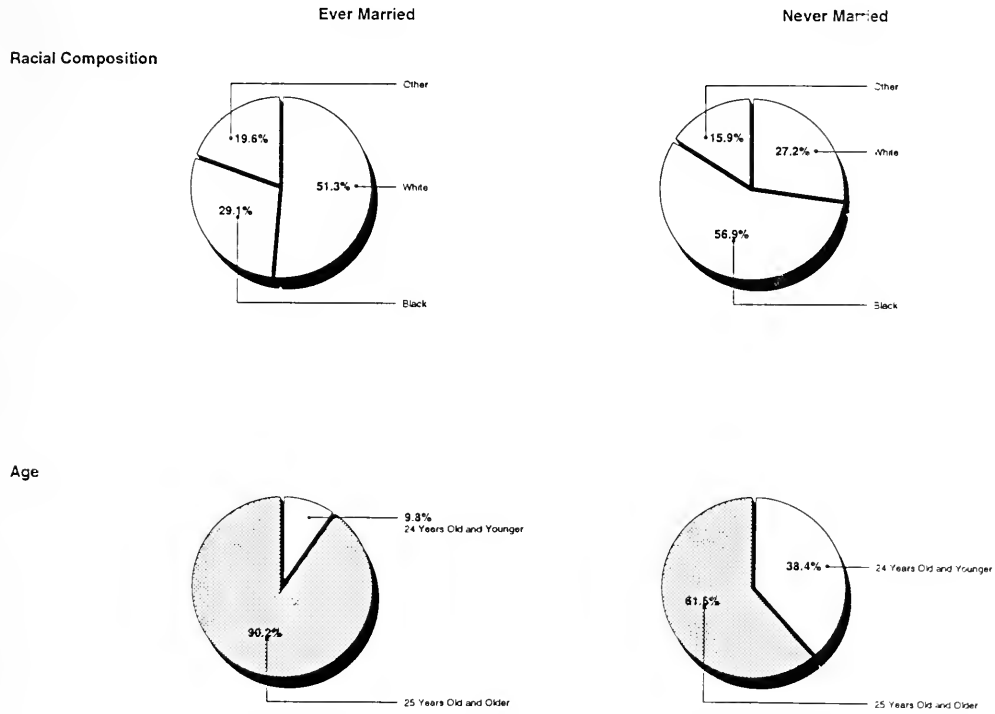
Source: CPS.

(Percent)

CPS Year	15-24 Years Old	25-34 Years Old	35 Years Old or Older
1976	52.1	33.1	14.8
1980	51.5	35.6	12.9
1984	42.4	45.2	12.4
1988	35.5	51.1	13.4
1992	38.4	46.5	15.1

Appendix II
Never-Married Women

Figure II.8: Characteristics of Women Receiving AFDC Who Have Ever Married and Those Who Have Never Married (CPS, 1992)



Source: CPS.

1
25
11
1

